Archæological Survey of India.

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1871-72.

DELHI,

BY

J. D. BEGLAR,

ASSISTANT, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

AGRA,

BY

A. C. L. CARLLEYLE,

ASSISTANT, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF

MAJOR-GENERAL A. CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I.,

DIRECTOR GENERAL, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

VOLUME IV.

"What is aimed at is an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photo-,raphs, and by copies of inscriptions, of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so ·a· as it .nay be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are preserved regarding them."—LORD .NNING.

"What the learned world demand of us in India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monu-ntal record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally,"—JAMES 'NSEP.

Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1838, p. 227.

V A R A N A S I

INDOLOGICAL BOOK HOUSE

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PREFACE

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL A. CUNNINGHAM.

THIS fourth volume of the Archæological Survey of India contains the first work of my two assistants, Messrs. J. D. Beglar and A. C. L. Carlleyle. As the final arrangements for the beginning of the survey were not completed until the end of February 1871, when it was too late in the season to go into camp, I assigned to them, as their first work, the exploration of the two great cities of Delhi and Agra, a task which could be carried on throughout the hot weather without much exposure to the sun. The present volume is the result of their labours, to which I wish to add some introductory remarks on a few of the more important points regarding which my views differ from those of my assistants. This expression of my opinion is the more necessary regarding the Kutb Masjid and Kutb Minar at Delhi, lest my silence should be taken for acquiescence in views with which I totally disagree.

DELHI.

The two buildings of greatest interest in old Delhi are the *Kutb Masjid* with its magnificent arches and colonnades, and the noble Muazzin's pillar, called the ***Kutb Minar***, which is nearly 250 feet in height. The erection of the masjid has always been assigned to Kutb-ud-din Aibeg, the first Muhammadan king of Delhi. Indeed this assignment is distinctly stated in the inscription over the eastern or main entrance to the masjid, with the addition of the important fact that it was built out of the material furnished by twenty-seven ruined Hindu temples. That the pillars of the colonnades are Hindu is obvious to every one; and at the same time it is equally obvious that they have been re-arranged and made up to their present height by the Muhammadans, by piling the shafts of two or three pillars one over the other. This fact was equally clear to Mr. Fergusson as it is to me. In the

following report Mr. Beglar admits that the pillars have been more or less re-arranged, but he contends that they occupy their original positions in the colonnade of a single Hindu temple, and that their present height is exactly that of the original Hindu colonnade. Consistently with this view he is obliged to condemn the record of the Muhammadan builder of the masjid regarding the destruction of twenty-seven Hindu temples as a false boast.

This opinion I consider as quite indefensible. The Muhammadan conqueror could have no possible object in publishing a false statement of the number of temples destroyed, nor in recording a lie over the entrance gateway of his great masjid. I therefore accept the statement as rigidly true. It is besides amply confirmed by the made up pillars of the colonnades on three sides of the court, which, as I have shown in my account of Delhi, must certainly have belonged to a great number of different temples.

That the Kutb Masjid was the site of a single Hindu temple I have no doubt whatever; and before Mr. Beglar began any excavations under my instructions, I stated to him my opinion that the lower portion of the surrounding walls of the raised terrace on which the masjid stands was the original undisturbed platform of a Hindu temple. The excavations made by Mr. Beglar outside these walls have proved that my opinion was correct. I therefore look upon this raised terrace on which the Kutb Masjid stands as the site of the chief temple of the old Hindu city of Delhi, of which the only remains now existing *in situ* are the tall Hindu pillars immediately behind the great arch. These are true Hindu pillars, undisturbed and unaltered by the Muhammadans. I consider them *undisturbed*, because their places are marked out on the pavement by chiselled lines; and I call them *unaltered*, because they have single Hindu shafts like those of other Hindu temples, whilst *all* the pillars in the surrounding colonnades are Muhammadan compositions, made up of two or three separate pillars to obtain height. I can offer one proof as to the pillars behind the great arch being in their original positions, in the fact that the stones of the piers of the great arch are actually *cut out* so as to fit against the mouldings of the pillars. This fact seems to me to show that the arches were an after addition built by the Muhammadans *against* the pillars of the old Hindu temples, which, therefore, I conclude to be *in situ*.

In the cloisters this curious mode of fitting new work to old work is found exactly reversed in the case of one of the pilasters of the northern colonnade. Here a natural bulge on one of the wall stones is met by a corresponding hollow cut out of the back of the pilaster. I call them pilasters because they are placed against the walls; but they are frequently full pillars with one face turned to the wall, and their bases not being reduced to bring their centres under the midlines of the shafts, these bases are projected several inches out of their true positions beyond the central lines of the shafts. I conclude, therefore, with absolute certainty that the pillars of the surrounding colonnades are not *in situ*, but were added by the Muhammadans to the old Hindu walls of the courtyard of the ruined temple.

As a further proof of the patch-work character of these incongruous pillars, I can adduce the following simple facts:—

1. In the north cloister, the first pillar in the outer row to the east has an almost plain granite shaft for the lower member, which is placed *upside down*.

2. In the north cloister, two contiguous columns of the outer line are each formed of three pieces of similar pillars placed one above the other, with the same mouldings and the same ornaments. Of these six pieces four are octagons with the alternate faces indented, the other two being plain octagons; but in one the plain octagonal piece forms the top third, in the other it is the middle third.

3. Several plain octagonal shafts, as well as others with the alternate faces indented, are found resting on square blocks, which were originally intended to receive square shafts. This is clearly shown by the upper surfaces of the exposed corners of the square blocks, which are not covered by the present octagonal shafts, being still in a rough state, just as they left the mason's hand, furrowed with chisel marks.

But the proofs of re-arrangement of old materials are not confined to the pillars of the colonnades. They are equally numerous and equally convincing in the domes of the gateways and corner rooms of the cloisters. These domes Mr. Beglar considers to be in their original positions, but the following facts will show that they also have been re-arranged by the Muhammadans:—

1. In the south-east corner the dome springs from an octagon which rests on a square supported by eight pillars,

namely, four corner pillars and four middle pillars. The angles of the octagon, therefore, fall on the beams of the square instead of over the pillars.

2. In the dome of the north-west corner this notable fault is intensified by the spaces between the pillars being unequal, as the intermediate pillars are not placed in the middle of the sides of the square.

3. In the north-east corner the dome springs from an octagon supported on twelve pillars forming a square; but there are capitals of five brackets placed in the corners of the square, and some common capitals of four brackets in the angles of the octagon. How did these brackets get into the wrong places except by re-arrangement?

4. In the great dome of the cloister of the east gateway there is the same kind of anomaly; some of the beams of the octagon resting in the angles between two brackets of common four bracket capitals, instead of being placed on the angular bracket of a five bracket capital. The beams also are of different kinds, some being plain and some ornamented. This dome must, therefore, have been re-arranged in its present position by the Muhammadans.

5. In the smaller ceilings of the side spaces of the corner rooms, there are some square ornamented slabs with their sides cut to make them fit into oblong spaces, whilst others are uncut, but are eked out at the ends of the oblong by plain slabs to fill the blank spaces. These roofs, therefore, are certainly not in their original positions, and I conclude, without any hesitation, that they must have been arranged as they are now by the Muhammadans when the great masjid was erected by Kutb-ud-din out of the spoils of twenty-seven Hindu temples.

6. In the upper rooms of the north-east and south-east corners many of the roofing slabs appear to have been taken from a Jain temple, as the faces of several of the stones which reduce the size of the square openings by covering the angles are filled with figures of men, elephants, and horses, with a single squatted figure in the middle, *quite naked*, and with both hands lying in the lap, exactly after the fashion of Jain statues. If then, as Mr. Beglar argues, these cloisters are the colonnades of a single Hindu temple, that temple must have been dedicated to the Jain worship, a conclusion which is directly negatived by the inscription on the iron pillar standing in the midst of the court-yard,

in which the pillar itself is called the "arm of Vishnu." It is also at variance with the several Vaishnava sculptures which are built into the surrounding walls, such as the Ten Avatârs, and Nârâyan reposing on the folds of the snake Ananta.

The conclusion which I have come to regarding the Kutb Masjid is simply this,—that it was built by Hindu masons under Muhammadan supervision out of the ruins of twenty-seven Hindu temples, some of which were no doubt Jain. This would be quite sufficient to account for all the faults of construction which have been noted, as well as for the incongruous make up of the pillars of the colonnades. The object of the Muhammadans was to obtain height, and as the generality of Hindu shafts are short monoliths, they gained their object by building up a single tall column of two or three Hindu shafts piled one over the other, with portions of bases and other blocks interposed. The general effect is no doubt pleasing, but I believe this to be due solely to the profusion of ornament, which distracts the eye, and prevents it from observing the incongruity of thick shafts surmounting thin ones, of bracket projections supporting nothing, and of niche projections unsupported. If the pillars were plain, I believe that their utter want of symmetry would be signally striking, and the incongruity and want of harmony of the several pieces would be obvious at once.

The Hindu origin of the Kutb Minar is also upheld by Mr. Beglar, who argues in favour of his opinion with much ingenuity. The Hindus themselves claim the pillar as their own, and assert that it was erected by Prithi Râj to enable his daughter to see the Ganges ! In a former report I have stated my reasons at length* for believing that the Kutb Minar is a purely Muhammadan building, and I will now adduce others which have occurred to me during two separate visits to the Kutb Minar in company with Mr. Beglar. On the first visit he pointed out to me the following short inscriptions in Nagari letters recorded on the lower part of the minar :—

1.—On plinth outside, to right of entrance—
Sam (va) t 1256.

2.—On wall of passage inside door to left—
Samvat (I) 256.

* Archæological Survey of India, vol. I, p. 190.

3.—On underside of lowest overlapping archstone in entrance passage—
Samvat 1256.

I take these three inscriptions to be the records of one of the Hindu masons employed in building the minar. That they are productions of an illiterate person is shown by the omission of the letter *v* in the first, and of the figure 1 for 1,000 in the second record. These three records of the same date Samvat 1256, or A. D. 1199, seem to me to point either to the foundation or to the completion of the building in that year—the repetition of the date being a common practice amongst Hindu masons. Thus, on the pillars of the Atâla Masjid at Jonpur, which is known to have been originally a Hindu temple converted to Muhammadan use by Ibrahim Shah Sharki between the years 1403 and 1440 A. D., I found the date of Samvat 1464, or A. D. 1407, three times repeated as follows:—

1.—On right jamb of north-gate outside—
Samvat 1464 *Samapt*
Sutradhâra Padumavi
Sai Sutradhâra Suta.

"Finished in the Samvat year 1464 by the mason Padumavi, son of the mason Saï"

2.—On one of the lower square pillars—
Samvat 1464.
Buniâdipari.

"Founded in the Samvat year 1464."

3.—On one of the outer pillars on the south side—
Samvat 1464.

But in addition to these dates, I can cite an actual record of the master mason, or builder who superintended the erection of the minar. This is cut on the south face of the plinth, and was first pointed out to me by Mr. Beglar. The record is unfortunately rendered imperfect by the fracture of the stone; but the remaining letters and figures are sufficiently distinct—

× × Ma gaj 51½———83¼ dâranâmuni

Immediately to the right of the figures 51½ there is a broad arrow, or long upright line with a stroke sloping downwards on each side—and about one inch to the right there is another similar mark which has been partially obliterated. Both of these lines are continued on the upper surface of the plinth. The words *dâranâmuni* I take to mean the "exemplar line," or as we should say the "plumb-

line" of the building, which the shifting of the mark shows to have been readjusted to the extent of rather more than one inch at the time that the record was made. That this was done by a Hindu mason is proved by the adoption of the word *gaj*, instead of the Persian *gaz*, which would certainly have been used by any one of the Muhammadan conquerors. It is curious that I found a similar mark on the projecting part of the back wall of the masjid itself immediately behind the centre, which was obviously intended for the adjustment of the mid-line of the masjid itself, as the mark is several inches outside of the middle of the projection.

Mr. Beglar bases his opinion chiefly on two arguments:—

1st.—That there is a difference of style observable between the three lower storeys and the two upper storeys, from which he infers that the former must be Hindu work and the latter Muhammadan.*

2nd.—That the distances between the bands of ornamentation are in geometrical progression; from which he argues that as the chain of the series must have been a work of "no ordinary labour," it could not have been discovered by the "barbarous Muhammadan conquerors," and must therefore be the work of the intellectual Hindus.†

In his first argument Mr. Beglar ignores the fact that the two upper storeys were re-built by Firoz Tughlak, as recorded in the inscriptions, as well as in his autobiography. The difference of style is indeed very striking, but it is not necessary to suppose that it marks more than the difference of architectural taste which had taken place in a century and a half that had elapsed between the times of Kutb-ud-din Aibeg and Firoz. The rich style of ornamentation of the lower balconies is in strict accordance with the lavish traceries of the arches which is seen in both the early masjids of Delhi and Ajmer, while the contrast of white marble with red sandstone was a favourite device in the time of Firoz, as may still be seen in his pillar at Hisar. That the style of ornamentation is Hindu may be admitted; but this was a simple necessity of the early Muhammadan architecture of India, as the conquerors were soldiers who were naturally obliged to employ the masons of the country in carrying out their designs. Hence came the overlapping arches as well as the Hindu ornament.

* Pages 49-50. Page 55. † Pages 52-53.

Mr. Beglar's second argument, which depends on the use of a *recondite geometrical series*, I utterly repudiate as a mere fanciful guess. Even supposing it were true, it is not easy to believe that the armies of Muhammad Ghori were formed entirely of illiterate men when we remember that the learned Abu Rihân accompanied the still earlier expeditions* of Mahmud of Ghazni. But when it is admitted that "the chain of the series (geometrical) must alone have been a work of no ordinary labour," I must confess that I put no faith in the application of such a practically impossible series.

Mr. Beglar further argues that there is a difference of projection between the bands of lotus flowers and the bands of Arabic inscriptions, the former being flush with the faces of the column, while the latter have a considerable projection. But it is only the lowest band of writing that is flush with the face, all the others being raised; and this belt has been so much injured by time and by ignorant restorations that it is now illegible, Sayid Ahmed being able to read no more than the words *Amir ul Umra*, or "chief of the nobles." I believe therefore that the depression of this belt is due entirely to the restorers, a conclusion which is borne out by the fact that several of the red facing stones have been cut right through so as to leave the inner core of rough stone quite visible. Now, this belt forms no part of Mr. Beglar's geometrical series, and as I am quite satisfied that it was an integral part of the original ornamentation, I repudiate the whole scheme of recondite Hindu design as a mere fanciful theory.

But on this subject of the ornamentation of the Kutb Minar we now possess the most decisive evidence that it is not of Hindu origin in the Târikh-i-Alai of Amir Khusru, a contemporary of Alauddin Khilji. Speaking of the new minar, which this king had ordered to be built, the poet adds that he also "directed that a *new casing* and cupola should be added to the old one."† According to this account, which we must remember is that of an eye witness of the fact, the whole of the present red stone facing was added by Alauddin, and to him we must assign all its exquisite balconies as well as all its ornamental bands. It was no doubt

* See Report, page 57.

† Târikh-i-Alai in Dowson's edition of Sir H. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, III, 70.

the knowledge of this entire restoration by the Pathan King that led Baber to call it the minar of Alauddin Khilji.

Having thus disposed of the Hindu origin of the ornamental bands on the face of the pillar, I will add a few words about the minar itself. In proof of the Hindu origin of the column, Sayid Ahmed states that "there is only *one minar*, which is contrary to the practice of the Muhammadans, who always give *two* minars to their masjids." But this statement is correct only for the custom of the last three centuries, as the following facts will show that the previous practice of the Muhammadans was to have only one minar, or mazinah, to their masjids:—

1.—The masjid of Ibu Tûlûn in Cairo, built in A. D. 876, has only one minar.*

2, 3.—The two minars of Mahmud at Ghazni, built about A. D. 1000, are of different sizes, and stand half a mile apart. They therefore belonged to two different masjids.

4.—The masjid of Sultan Barkût in Cairo, built in A. D. 1149, has only one minar.†

5.—The minar at Koël, built in A. D. 1252, was a single column, and occupied exactly the same position with regard to its masjid as that of the Kutb Minar to its masjid.

6.—The unfinished minar of Alauddin at Delhi is a single column built about A. D. 1300.

7.—Two masjids at Bayana have only *one* minar each, placed outside the court-yard of the masjid, but on the north-east corner instead of on the south-east corner as in the Kutb example. One of these bears an inscription of Naseruddin Muhammad, who was reigning in A. D. 1390.

From these eight examples, which range over a period of more than five centuries down to within one hundred and sixty years of the accession of Akbar, it is clear that it was the fixed practice of the Muhammadans to have only one minar, or mazinah, to each masjid. That the Kutb Minar was a mazinah or Muazzin's tower we have the evidence of its inscriptions which cannot be ignored, as well as the express declaration of Abulfeda who calls it a mazinah. That it was a Muhammadan design we have the fact, that

* History of Architecture. Fergusson II. 383 387.
† Ibid. II. 387.

the conquerors of Delhi were the rulers of Ghazni, where they had been familiar with the minars of Mahmûd, which are star polygons in plan, with deeply indented angles. For the Muhammadan the Kutb Minar had a purpose which was intimately connected with the daily practice of his religion. I am therefore firmly convinced that it is a purely Muhammadan building both in purpose and in design, although most, if not all, of the details of its execution, and notably its overlapping or corbelled arches, are Hindu.

AGRA.

With regard to the buildings at *Agra* there are only two points in which my opinion differs from those which are generally received by the public, and which have been adopted by Mr. Carlleyle. According to the popular view the present fort was built entirely by Akbar, there being little if any part of the old fort of Sikandar Ludi included within its limits, and the red sandstone palace now called the Jahângiri mahal was built by the emperor Jahângir for his own residence. As I do not agree with either of these opinions, I will now give the reasons which have led me to differ from them, and as the main part of my argument about the fort rests upon the true determination of the site of Jahângir's palace, I will begin with the latter building.

The emperor Jahângir, on returning to Agra a few years after his accession, relates that he first visited his father's tomb, and then proceeded to the fort "to the palace which he had ordered to be built there for his own residence."* That this palace, which he had ordered to be built for his own residence, was not the red sandstone building now called the *Jahângiri* mahal, is clear from the emperor's account of its position: "This palace," he says, "rests upon the gate which opens on the river Jumna, and is supported by 25 pillars." The actual palace of Jahângir must therefore have been quite close to the water gate of the fort towards the well known Musamman Burj, or octagonal tower, as he adds that "the adjoining tower of four storeys is octagonal." Now, this is an exact description of the Musamman Burj, and I conclude therefore that the palace of Jahângir must have occupied that portion of the eastern face of the fort lying between the water gate and the Musamman Burj which is

* Autobiography of Jahângir. p. 120.

now represented by the fine court-yard of the Macchhi Bhawan, backed by the Diwân-i-khâs. Here still stands Jahângir's famous throne of black stone, which was seen and described by Captain Hawkins in A. D. 1611 and 1612.* The Diwân-i-khâs with its two thrones of black and white stone is now a terrace, 70 feet wide by 120 feet in length; but as Shah Jahan's Shish mahal has cut off about one-third of its length, the original terrace must have been nearly 200 feet in length with its back wall towards the river, and its front open towards the great square of the Macchhi Bhawan. Against this wall to the right and left of the throne were placed images of Christ and the Virgin, which are described by William Finch, as well as by Captain Hawkins. Their accounts have since been confirmed by the discovery of a white marble statue of the Virgin, which was dug up in the fort about 15 years ago, and may now be seen in the verandah of the Agra Bank.

On this terrace then, as I believe, stood the original palace of Jahângir, supported, as he describes, on 25 pillars, the whole of which must have been cleared away by Shah Jahan before he began to build the well known Shish mahal and Khâs mahal.

The emperor also adds that "adjoining is a small gallery, *overlooking the Jumna*, to view wild beast fights;" this agrees with the account of Captain Hawkins, who regularly attended Jahângir's darbars for nearly a whole year, and who repeatedly witnessed wild beast fights as well as executions from the gallery of the palace. As there is no gallery attached to the red sandstone palace, it seems certain that this building cannot have been the palace of Jahângir.

The emperor closes his account with the characteristic entry that in a *lower storey*, "more on a level with the river," was the "private drinking apartment." Now, the building called the Jahângiri mahal has no apartments below the audience halls, while immediately adjoining the Macchhi Bhawan, that is, between it and the water gate, there are two octagonal rooms, in a lower storey, each 21½ feet in diameter, which were once highly decorated with painted flowers, and which still possess two large marble trellises looking towards the river. Here again the Macchhi Bhawan buildings agree with the description which Jahângir gives of

* Kerr's Voyages and Travels, VIII, 252.

his own palace, while the building now called the Jahângiri mahal has nothing in common with the emperor's account either in position or in details. I conclude, therefore, without any hesitation that the red sandstone palace now called the Jahângiri mahal was not the palace of Jahângir.

But if this be not the palace of Jahângir, to whom must it be attributed? I reply to Ibrahim Ludi. It is certain that there was a palace of Ibrahim within the fort of Agra, as Baber records that he occupied it on his arrival at Agra, and afterwards notices that there was an empty space between Ibrahim's palace and the ramparts.*

In this "empty space" Baber constructed a large *wain* (or Baoli) 20 *gaz* in diameter. This *wain* I take to be the great Baoli, 17½ feet in diameter, which still exists in the empty space between the red sandstone palace and the ramparts. But the argument to be derived from an examination of the building itself is even stronger and more conclusive than this identity of position. This argument lies in the simple fact that the red stone palace of Agra is a direct imitation both in design and in detail of the Mân Mandar or palace of Raja Mân Sinh at Gwalior. Now, Ibrahim was the conqueror of Gwalior, and the fine palace of Raja Mân must certainly have won his admiration, as it did that of Baber only a few years later. Gwalior was captured in A. D. 1518, and Ibrahim fell on the fatal field of Pânipat in 1526. The palace, therefore, must have been built during the eight years comprised between these two dates.

The main points of agreement in construction are the following:—

1. The entire absence of radiating arches, all openings being spanned by corbels.
2. The use of sloping stone ribs meeting horizontal beams to carry the slab roofing of the two halls of audience.
3. The adoption of narrow screened galleries running round the whole building, and of secret passages in the thickness of the walls for communication between the upper and lower storeys.
4. The adoption of a narrow gallery screened close by trellis work round three sides of one of the audience halls, apparently for the purpose of allowing the ladies of the harem to see into the great court-yard.

* Memoirs by Leyden and Erskine, pp. 309—342.

The chief points of similarity in the details of ornamentation are the following :—

1. The use of running borders filled with ducks and pigeons.

2. The style of the stone trellises which is the same in both palaces.

To all these proofs of an earlier date than the time of Jahângir, I may add the fact that the walls are covered with delicate diaper patterns of small and intricate tracery, having the ground or sunken portions coloured either with a vermilion or a sky-blue pigment,—a style which, according to my experience, was peculiar to the later Pathan architecture.

With all these concurring evidences pointing to an earlier date than the time of the Mughals for the building of the so-called Jahângiri mahal, I have been led irresistibly to the conclusion that the Red Palace was erected by the last Pathan King of Delhi, and that it is therefore the actual palace of Ibrahim Ludi which was inhabited by the victorious Baber.

After I had come to this conclusion I determined on visiting the palace once more to inspect the building called a *Bâradari*, which I have always heard attributed to the Pathans, and which must therefore have formed part of the old Pathan Fort known as Bâdalgarh.

On entering the fort by the Amar Singhi Gate, I was struck by the marked difference of styles in the two kinds of battlements which crown the middle gateway. On the outer face they are plain, massive, and lofty, with clear straight openings, like those of the fort walls; but on both sides as well as on the inner face the battlements are low with raised borders, and slightly recessed openings widening below into indented squares, which were once filled either with glazed tiles, or with some blue or green colour. All the buildings in the court-yard between the middle and inner gates are finished with the same battlements. So also are all the *buildings* in the court-yards of the Delhi and water gates, while the outer battlements correspond with those of the walls. Now these smaller battlements are precisely the same in all respects as those of the Red Palace called the Jahângiri mahal. If then I am right in attributing the Red Palace to Ibrahim Ludi, it is only a necessary conclusion that the main portions of the three principal entrances to the fort

including their inner court-yards, must have formed parts of the original fort of the Ludi Kings.

This conclusion is further borne out by the use of diapered medallions on the walls and inside the domes, a practice which was generally given up by the Mughals except for the ornamentation of the spandrils of arches. This conclusion is also much strengthened by the fact that the old Bâradari, which I have always heard attributed to the Pathans, has precisely the same battlements in all respects as those of the Red Palace and the inner courts of the gateways.

The last argument which I can bring forward is the fact that there is the most striking difference in the construction of the outer walls, which are admitted to have been built by Akbar, and thât of the walls of the inner courts, which I contend must have formed part of the old Pathan fort of the Ludi Kings. In 1859, when I was living at Agra as Chief Engineer of the North-Western Provinces, embrasures for guns were pierced in the main walls of the fort of the court-yard of the Amar Singhi gate.

In the former the work was generally done in four or five days, while the piercing of the latter occupied no less than a fortnight. This great difference was solely due to the different nature of the construction, the former being a rubble wall faced with red sandstone slabs bound together with bad powdery mortar; while the latter was a compact mass of well-built wall of rough stones and hard tenacious mortar, which held together so firmly that the whole had to be quarried out. I conclude therefore that the main walls of the fort, which are so widely different in their construction from those of the Amar Singhi court-yard, must be the work of different dates.

The general result of my enquiries leads me to the opinion that the Agra Fort was originally built by Sikandar Ludi, and was afterwards altered and added to by Akbar, who considerably increased the height of the walls; but I believe that the old Pathan Fort occupied exactly the same position as that of Akbar, with the exception perhaps of some of the gateway outworks.

NOTE

BY

MR. J. D. BEGLAR, ASSISTANT, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Until lately I held the opinions expressed in my report regarding the Kutb Masjid and Minar. Starting with the hypothesis that the foundation and such parts of the walls of the Kutb Masjid, both inner and outer inclosures, as were below the ground level, were original Hindu, the conclusion I have arrived at in the report is simply inevitable; but early in November this year, General Cunningham and I visited the Kutb remains together, and he pointed out to me various incongruities which clearly showed that the foundations of the inner and outer inclosures, as they stand, are not original Hindu, although doubtless some portion, probably the portion of the foundation of the back wall immediately behind the middle of the masjid proper, is Hindu.

It is necessary that I notice and point this out particularly. As stated in my report, the material and workmanship of all the portions of the walls of the masjid which I have there supposed to be Hindu, are precisely similar; but in one portion of the foundation courses of the south wall of the inner inclosure are inserted not one but several stones which either have, or once had, bracket projections. In the west back wall of the masjid also General Cunningham pointed out to me sculptured stones with their sculptured faces turned inwards; and further the upper double cornice which runs along the back wall of Kutb's portion of the masjid, is carried round the corner, proving that the inner inclosure was once complete in itself, and yet the same cornice is continued through Alitmish's extension, and the materials and workmanship of this portion so closely correspond to the portion of Kutb's masjid, as to have led me to suppose the whole to have been one continuous wall, I not having then noticed that the cornice turned the corner of Kutb's inclosure.

These which are only a few of many similar incongruities now convince me that the entire foundations and walls (with the exception *perhaps* of some small indefinite portion) of the Kutb Masjid and Alitmish's extension are Muhammadan.

This admission completely alters the application of my arguments in the body of the report, without, however, in the least affecting their coherence.

Starting from the hypothesis that the foundations were undisturbed Hindu, I proceeded to prove that the various other parts of the masjid, as it stands, could not be Muhammadan; and as the minar is most intimately connected with the masjid by a definite law, it also could not be Muhammadan. Now, as I maintain that the foundations are not Hindu, but Muhammadan, my previous arguments all tend most emphatically to establish that every other part there supposed Hindu is Muhammadan also—in short, the whole force of my argument mainly went to show that to whatever age the foundations belonged, to the same age must be assigned the minar—and having started with a wrong hypothesis, I was compelled by the conclusions to which I then was logically and necessarily driven to maintain that the minar was Hindu. At present therefore I gladly and unhesitatingly acknowledge the grave error I committed, and General Cunningham will find that my "fanciful" law, as he styles it, which governs the disposition of the various parts of the structure, forms one of the strongest proofs in favour of his views.

I now accordingly hold that, whatever in the masjid and minar I have maintained in my report to be undisturbed Hindu, is Muhammadan of the period of Kutb and Alitmish, and that whatever I have there called Muhammadan is due to subsequent repair and alteration, 1st, by Alauddin Khilji, 2nd, by Firoz Shah, of both of whom history distinctly records that they repaired extensively the havoc time and violence had made in the buildings, and 3rd, of those other repairs and alterations subsequent to Firoz Shah, which must have from time to time been executed by different kings, but of which history has left no record.

The execution, however, of the entire structure as a whole is Hindu; for the simple reason that Hindu workmen were the only ones Kutb and Alitmish could have procured.

I take this opportunity of thanking General Cunningham publicly for the kindness and patience he has shown in pointing out my error to me, an error of such a nature, that no mere argument could have touched it, and which, but for our going to the spot together, would have remained uncorrected; for none of his reasonings have shaken the coherence of my arguments and of the "fanciful" law that governs the parts of the masjid and minar.

In a future paper I shall show a similar law governing the parts of structures indisputably Hindu, such, for instance, as the superb temples in various parts of Central India. So that it is clear the law was recognised by Hindu architects, and this is my reason for supposing that although the Kutb remains were executed under the orders of Muhammadan kings, and the leading features of the structure determined by them, the arrangement of the detail, both of construction and ornamentation, was left entirely to Hindu architects.*

* *Note by General Cunningham.*—It must be obvious to every one that the distances between the different bands of ornament could not have been determined by mere rule of thumb, but must have been arranged by some simple series of differences either in arithmetical or geometrical progression. That the series was a very simple one I have no doubt; and I believe that it has not yet been discovered owing solely to the difficulty of measuring the exact distances between the bands.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORT.

REPORT ON DELHI, BY MR. J. D. BEGLAR, ASSISTANT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, FOR THE HALF-YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 1871.

Before entering on the report, it is necessary to premise that I have no share in the reading or interpretation of any inscriptions. On this head I have confined myself to copying such as had not been copied before, or of which fresh copies appeared desirable. I have availed myself of such published and unpublished information as I was aware of and had access to, but there is much that I have not been able to obtain access to, and probably more that I am not aware of.

I begin with the two pillars of Asoka, one in Firuz Shah's Kotela, just outside the Delhi gate of Delhi Shahjahanabad; the other near Hindu Rao's house, and close to the monument lately erected in commemoration of the siege and capture of Delhi during the mutiny of 1857.

Of the former, General Cunningham has already treated exhaustively, and I refer to his writings; the pillar is placed on a massive building of the style peculiar to Firuz Shah's period, *viz.*, of rubble stone, with the domes of rubble stone irregularly set in mortar of admirable quality, and arches with ribs.* The top of the building is of the form of a pyramid, of very broad base, and very small altitude, eminently fitted for the speedy carrying off of rain water, yet flat enough to make it a pleasant terrace for the enjoyment of the river breezes and views in the cool of the evening.

The slope, however, makes me doubt if another storey ever existed over it, whether of walls or colonnades: there are, indeed, the stumps of two pillars near the edge of the roof on the north side, and these appear deeply imbedded, so that it would be utterly impossible to remove them without leaving indelible marks of their existence; but as no marks

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* For plan, see Plate IX.

of the positions of any other pillars or walls are to be seen on any side, I think it is fairly open to question whether the fragments of two solitary pillars existing now can be taken to be the remains of a colonnade or additional open storey round the pillar. I rather think that, in striving after effect, the builders of the structure would not lessen the seeming and clear height of the monolith by burying a portion of it within a structure, open or closed; they would rather err on the other side and bury as little, leaving as much of clear height to produce effect as they possibly could consistent with safety; and that the builders did strive after effect will be admitted by all; for the massive structure of three storeys, gradually diminishing from the base upwards, yet leaving a massive terrace on the top, throws into strong relief, in the most effectual, yet beautifully appropriate, manner the tall proportions of the slender shaft. I would further point out that the domes over the four corner towers are at the same height as the present main roof, and tend to confirm the supposition that the building originally was no higher.

Vertically beneath the base of the pillar, a gallery has been broken through in the topmost storey, disclosing a sort of rough chamber covered by a rubble dome 4 feet in diameter, on which, consequently, the entire weight of the pillar rests.

Of the *lat* near Hindu Rao's house, the fragments (with the exception of the piece stated by General Cunningham as having been sent to the Asiatic Society's Museum in Calcutta) have been put together, and now form a column standing on the ridge which runs from the present Delhi monument to Hindu Rao's house. General Cunningham quotes Padre Tieffenthaler to show that it was thrown down in A. D. 1713 to 1719, during the reign of Farukhsir.

Padre Tieffenthaler was in Delhi in A. D. 1747, as I learn from General Cunningham, and from his writings it would appear that the pillar had fallen about 25 years before, which would carry the event back to 1722, or thereabouts. Native tradition, however, asserts that it was thrown down by Mr. Frazer to build his house on its site, and there are old men who state they actually saw it standing: as their ages cannot exceed 90, it is clear that they could not have seen it standing, and that the native tradition is, as usual with native accounts, false. When two or three old men state

they actually saw a thing, it is hard to disbelieve their statements, but the above instance shows how difficult, if not impossible, it is to place the slightest reliance on native accounts, especially those which ascribe some act of vandalism to their European conquerors.

The position, however, assigned to the pillar by tradition, *viz.*, the site of Hindu Rao's house, agrees remarkably with the relative position of the pillar as originally erected by Firuz Shah, in reference to his hunting palace or Koshak Shikar, which, for reasons to be stated hereafter, I identify with the present Pirghyb Great Trigonometrical Survey. I therefore consider that it really stood at the site of Hindu Rao's house; and I refer to General Cunningham's writings for a description of the site of the pillar as related by the Muhammadan writers of the period.

In the Mahâbhârat there is mention of Indarpat as one of the five prasthas claimed by Yudhishtir from his cousin Duryodhan. What, however, is now known as Indarpat or Purâna Kila is an entirely Muhammadan structure. I am inclined to think that the Muhammadans, as usual with them, availed themselves of the original Hindu foundations in re-erecting the fort; this would be a very interesting discovery, as showing, at least in plan, the form of one of the oldest forts of which mention is made in India; a few excavations would probably show, from difference in construction and material, whether the foundations belong to the same period as the superstructure or not.

Nilachatri is a small Hindu shrine on the banks of the Jumna, close to Selimgurh and to Nigambod ghât. Tradition ascribes to it an immense antiquity, as having been erected by Yudhishtir on the occasion of a (homa) religious ceremony performed here; the present building, however, for several reasons, cannot be considered as the original temple, though it may possibly occupy the site of its predecessor.

It is built of stone, with square granite pillars of a plain massive pattern, ranged along the interior of a plain solid wall; the roof, which is pyramidal, is covered with stone slabs enamelled and representing birds, animals, &c., &c., in staring colours. No authenticated instance of the employment of enamelling in India is known previous to the Muhammadan conquest, and it has been considered that the Muhammadans introduced it: this seems to settle the question

definitely. I would, however, while on the subject, beg leave to remark that the evidence which (to my knowledge) ascribes the introduction of the art in India to the Muhammadans is of an essentially negative nature, resting solely on the non-discovery of older remains, showing the existence of the art previous to the Muhammadan conquest, and it would be very desirable to obtain some positive evidence regarding its origin or introduction to India.

As the Muhammadans destroyed or appropriated all Hindu temples on seizing the country, it appears impossible to suppose the Nilachatri to be of the Hindu period; it was probably built some time after the Muhammadans had been in quiet possession of the country, and when their bigotry had much abated. The style of the building is massive.

General Cunningham pointed out, what had escaped my observation, that the glazed stones forming patterns and figures are misarranged, so that the body of a peacock, for instance, is joined on to the head of some other bird and to the tail of another, while its own proper head and tail pieces are placed elsewhere; evidently showing that the tiles or stones are not in their original positions; numbers of pieces, too, are missing; and General Cunningham's opinion, that the present building was rebuilt from the ruins of a not much older structure by the Mahrattas during their occupancy of Delhi, supported, as it is, by a tradition to the same effect, is doubtless correct.

Nigambod ghât, close to the river gate of Delhi Shahjahanabad, called the Nigambod gate, is a place on the banks of the Jumna, where dead bodies are brought for cremation, and to which peculiar virtues are ascribed by the Hindûs. I have been gravely assured by several otherwise intelligent Hindus that dead bodies are more effectually consumed if burned there than anywhere else.

General Cunningham, in his report, has ably and exhaustively discussed the question of the building of the Lâlkot of Anang-pâl, called now popularly the Lalkot of Pithora, the ancient Delhi, and of the founding of Delhi. While admitting his date of the founding of the fort of Delhi, I beg leave to offer some remarks tending to show that the city of Delhi existed contemporaneously with Indraprastha.

As he has himself observed, it is the universal custom to name cities after their founders; Delhi cannot be supposed to be the solitary exception to this rule. As we

have a tradition that it was founded by Raja Dilipa, and as the Vishnu Purân mentions a Raja Dilipa as having preceded the Pandus, I think the probability in favor of Delhi or Dilli having been founded by Raja Dilipa very strong; that no mention is made of Dilli previous to Ptolemy's Daidala, (which General Cunningham identifies with Dilli, and in which identification I concur) need excite no surprise when we remember that close to it, and overshadowing it as it were, stood the famous Indraprastha: Delhi or Dilli could only rise into prominence after the decay of Indraprastha; and Ptolemy's mention of Dilli is a curious record of the period when Indraprastha had begun to decline, yet had not quite lost its position, and Dilli had risen into comparatively greater importance. Subsequent to this, there is mention of Dilli in the wars of the king of Dilli with Sukwanti Raja, but not of Indraprastha; this shows that the decay of Indraprastha (and rise of Dilli), of which we have presumptive evidence, about the time of Ptolemy, had, as we would expect, progressed, ending in the total disappearance of Indraprastha as a place of importance, and the established supremacy of Dilli.

After lying deserted for 792 years, Dilli was re-peopled and the fort constructed by Anang-pâl: we must not, however, suppose that Dilli was in the interval absolutely deserted; for within this period it was that the iron-pillar inscription was cut or engraved: the city of Dilli in the interval, although not the residence of the paramount Raja, was nevertheless in existence and flourishing in an humbler way, and it had Rajas who probably acknowledged the supremacy of the Raja of Ujain. It appears hence that the fact of Dilli being subordinate to another capital at an immense distance has in this instance, effectually caused a total silence regarding it for nearly 800 years; need we then be surprised that no mention should have been made of it when the capital Indraprastha lay, not at the distance of 400 miles as Ujain is, but within an hour's walk of it?

Delhi was re-peopled by Anang-pâl, according to popular traditions, *i. e.*, it again became the capital or chief city: a tank near the present Jogmâyâ is still called Anang Tâl, and was probably dug by him; it is dry now, and remains dry even in the rains; the rain water which finds its way in has no outlet, but apparently soaks into the soil, which is a sort of loose reddish earth, the débris of decayed rock.

The ancient Hindu remains of Delhi are many: the fort, or Lâlkot, of Anang-pâl, the Iron-pillar, the Kutb Minar, and what is now called the Kutb Masjid, and the outer fort of Ray Pithora, and the structure called Sultan Gâri's Tomb are all ancient Hindu structures. I shall begin with the Lâlkot.

General Cunningham has already shown that the Lâlkot, by which is understood the citadel of old Dilli, was built by Anang-pâl, and that the more extensive, though weaker, fortifications of the city, called now Kilah Ray Pithora, were built by Raja Prithi Raj.

Starting from Adham Khan's Tomb and going westwards, one can see a lofty line of ramparts, in fair order in many places:* after a short distance, the line of ramparts turns to the north, and with small bends reaches what is called the Ranjit gate, formed and defended by a triple row of outworks; passing the Ranjit gate it continues in a north-east direction till it comes to a point where a lower line of ramparts branches off northwards, and the higher walls, which are the walls of Lâlkot, turn round a tower called Fateh Bûrj, due east, which direction it maintains for a short distance, and up to an immense tower called Sohan Bûrj; from here the line goes due south, till after passing the Sohan gate (a mere gap now in the line of walls) it again branches off into two, one going due east, which I will, for distinction, at present call the eastern branch, and another continuing the southerly direction past Anang Tâl back to Adham Khan's Tomb; this, as the shorter, I now for distinction call the direct line.

The eastern branch goes eastwards, and round to south after a long detour, crossing the present Delhi road and the road to Tughlakabad, and then disappears: after a gap of about 500 yards, a line of walls is again seen going in a north-west direction till it meets Adham Khan's Tomb.

It has been customary to call the fort bounded up to the Sohan gate by the wall, which, starting from Adham Khan's Tomb, goes past Ranjit gate and Sohan and Fateh bastions to the junction or bifurcation near Sohan gate, and thence bounded by the eastern branch just described, going round with a gap past Metcalfe House, and back to Adham Khan's Tomb, the Lâlkot of Anang-pâl; and this is the view entertained by General Cunningham. What I have called the direct line of walls from the bifurcation near Sohan gate,

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* See Plate I.

not being even shown on the usual maps, and though indicated by General Cunningham in his survey, not considered by him as the wall of the fort, but as merely a dividing wall separating the fort, or Lâlkot, into two portions as a precaution against surprise. I beg respectfully to differ from him in this point, and maintain that the smaller space inclosed between the wall going from Adham Khan's Tomb past Ranjit gate and Fateh and Sohan bastions to the bifurcation at Sohan gate, and the direct line of wall from the bifurcation near Sohan gate to Adham Khan's Tomb, is the original fort or Lâlkot of Anang-pâl, and the eastern branch, which from the Sohan gate goes by a long detour, and with a gap, to Adham Khan's Tomb, I maintain to be the remains of the attempted enlargement by Alauddin Khilji, a Muhammadan emperor.

Differing as I do on an important point from the highest authority on such questions, it becomes necessary to state my reasons in much greater detail than I would otherwise have considered necessary: I will first give the evidence of facts, and then the evidence of history.

Beginning at Adham Khan's Tomb, and making the circuit of the walls in the direction detailed above, it will be noticed—

(1).—That the walls are exclusively of rubble stone, of large dimensions; there are occasionally portions where smaller-sized rubble has been used, but not a brick is to be met with in the entire distance from Adham Khan's Tomb up to the bifurcation near Sohan gate.

(2).—That these rubble stone walls are defended by a ditch, varying in width from 18 feet to 35 feet, the least width being found at points where the walls rest on rock, and the ditch also is cut in rock; the greatest width, however, in the entire distance from Adham Khan's Tomb to the Sohan gate not exceeding 35 feet.

(3).—That the wall from Adham Khan's Tomb to Sohan gate is either founded on rock, the face of which is scarped, where such rock exists conveniently in the course, or is carried right down to the bottom of the ditch (at least to the present bottom, and how much deeper is not known).

(4.)—That the section of the wall is within the above-mentioned limits of Adham Khan's Tomb and Sohan gate; a series of steps narrow towards the inner face and broader towards the outer face, but always in steps gradually diminishing upwards.

(5).—That the material in which the stones composing the wall is set is reddish earth, if taken from near the bottom courses, which are most likely in their original state unmodified by repair from the Muhammadans.

(6).—That with the exception of the grooved, dressed stone for a portcullis at the Ranjit gate, not a single dressed or numbered stone is to be found in the whole extent of walls from Adham Khan's Tomb to the bifurcation near Sohan gate.

(7).—That passing beyond Sohan gate in the eastern branch, the walls are defended by what General Cunningham calls a ditch, but which in the narrowest part measures 60 feet across, and frequently 150 and 200 feet.

(8).—That in the eastern branch of walls there is frequently to be seen dressed stone and brick.

(9).—That in the ditch, or, as I shall henceforth call it, valley, is a Bowlee, or well, with arcades, &c.*

(10).—That in this eastern branch of the walls, not in a single instance is the wall carried down to the level of the valley or ditch.

(11).—That the general height of the remains of wall in this latter portion is much lower than in the former portion, or even than in the direct line of wall, dismantled though it is from the bifurcation near Sohan gate to Adham Khan's Tomb; this difference is so great that it can be distinctly seen from the top of the Kutb Minar. A view from the top of the Minar will show the lines of walls of what I call the Lâlkot distinctly as a high mound encircling the space within and towering over the ground outside : it will also show the eastern branch of walls which run east from the bifurcation, but not so distinctly, and not as a continuous line of mound encircling the space within.

(12).—That no portion of the wall of the eastern branch is standing intact: the direct line of wall from Adham Khan's Tomb to the bifurcation near Sohan gate is also in ruins, so much so that hardly the lowest course of stone is left *in situ*; but I shall subsequently show that this is due, not to time, but to the order of Alauddin Khilji: yet, although barely the lowest course is left in places, the general level of this direct line of wall (the partition wall, as General Cunningham calls it) is higher than the level of the walls of the eastern branch.

* See Plate I.

(13).—From some excavations made in this eastern branch of the walls, it appears that the wall is founded on the slope of the high ground: the excavation showed first a layer of débris, then plain earth unmixed with débris; whence it appears that the foundations for these walls were dug on the slope to a considerable depth, but not to the level of the adjacent valley.*

(14).—The excavations further show that the eastern branch walls are built on foundations partly of brick and partly of stone, the bricks being large thin bricks.*

(15).—It also appears that the wall, at least such portion of it as exists, was not built in steps: the foundations are perfectly plumb, but too little of the superstructure exists to show what it was like, though enough remains to show it did not rise in steps.*

(16).—The foundations, where of brick, appear to have been hollow, the upper solid wall having been built on narrow parallel lines of brick walls for foundations: these narrow parallel brick walls do not, however, run parallel to the crest of the mound, or to the direction of the face of the fort wall, but in directions slightly different, and having proceeded for some distance in this diverging direction bend suddenly at right angles. I am of opinion that these brick walls represent the foundation walls of dwelling houses which occupied the site before Alauddin Khilji gave the order to enlarge the fort; and that when the fort walls came to be built, the masons simply availed themselves of these old foundations as far as they could.*

(17).—Such portions of the superstructure of this eastern branch as exist, and have been exposed to view in the excavations, show that the wall was faced with dressed stone in places, and rubble stone in others, in a way quite foreign to the uniform system invariably adopted in genuine Hindu construction.*

(18).— The projecting rubble stone at the top of the foundations of this eastern branch of walls, and below the superstructure, is a very curious feature, forming, as it were, a rubble stone rough cornice at the bottom of the wall, *i. e.*, of the superstructure of the wall.*

(19).—The excavation disclosed a stone marked with the figure 8; as such stones are plentiful among the ruins about the Kutb Masjid, it appears reasonable to suppose that it originally came from there.

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* See Plate II.

(20).—In this eastern branch of the walls is a gap of nearly 500 yards. I have not been able to find the remains of ancient walls, if any ever existed, in this gap, nor have others who have surveyed the place, of whom one is General Cunningham himself; if indeed any remains existed, he would have found them out; and the fact of his not finding any is a strong presumptive evidence that none existed. Of the portion of this branch wall near Adham Khan's Tomb, little remains; the wall is built, as elsewhere, on the high ground, and is defended by a valley, which here is of great but irregular width; a small pool or tank exists in the valley.*

(21).—Almost facing the south gate of outer Kutb colonnade (which I shall subsequently show to be a Hindu fragment), there exists at the slope leading up from the valley to the high ground a sort of rough steps, very wide, formed on a projecting rocky spur of the high ground, but corresponding to these steps or approach is no gap for a doorway or entrance in the branch walls: it will afterwards be seen that, except the south gate, no other gate existed in the Hindu period in the outer inclosure of the Thakurdwâra, or the Kutb Masjid as it is now called; the road therefore that gave admission to the Thakurdwâra in the Hindu period must have come from the south, *i. e.*, from the direction of these steps, and I think there is every probability in supposing these steps to have been formed for the purpose of giving easy and direct access to the Thakurdwâra and to its only outer gate: in the Hindu period this road would have been an important one, but when the Muhammadans took the place, the principal entrance was made to the east, and there was no longer any necessity for these steps; hence when Alauddin Khilji's extension to the fort was being built, there was no necessity for an entrance in the walls at these steps, and opposite the south outer gate of the Kutb Masjid, which then was quite a secondary gate. And accordingly we see no remains of a gateway in the walls of the fort there.*

(22).—Lastly, as the result of the difference of construction between the walls of the true Lâlkot, according to my showing, and the eastern branch walls, the slopes assumed by equally ruined portions of each are not quite alike; there is a difference in the slopes, which can easily

* See Plate I

be noticed, but cannot be easily described: this difference of slopes, indeed, first suggested to me doubts of the two walls being of the same period; in fact I doubted if the eastern branch walls were the walls of a fort at all. My doubts have now turned out well founded.

The points of difference, as detailed above, between the walls of the real Lâlkot (from Adham Khan's Tomb to the Sohan gate) and the eastern branch walls (or Alauddin's extension, as I shall now call it) are so marked that it is impossible to ascribe it to any amount of repairs or alterations short of the actual uprooting of the Hindu walls from their very foundations and building others on the same spot. As this is a proceeding too absurd to ascribe to even the most self-willed of the Muhammadan emperors, there remains only the other alternative of admitting them as structures of widely different eras, while the direct line of wall from Sohan gate to Adham Khan's Tomb, which General Cunningham calls the dividing wall, so naturally shows itself as the original continuation of the fort wall from the Sohan gate, being the same in direction, similar in the stone, and in the cementing material, binding its component stones, and more nearly approaching it in size than the other, that I consider as proved, so far as proof can be demanded of such ancient structures in their present condition, that it is not a dividing wall, but the real rampart of the original fort of Anang-pâl.

On a comparison of the sizes of the various citadels of Delhi, Indraprastha, Firûz Shah's Kotela, Siri, Tughlakabad, and Shahjahanabad with the fort of Lâlkot as hitherto assumed, it will be seen that it is larger than any of the others, a supposition precluded by its known inferiority to Indraprastha. If, however, the Lâlkot, as defined by me, be compared with the others, it will be found somewhat smaller than Indraprastha, and pretty much of the size of the others.*

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* *Note by General A. Cunningham.*—Mr. Beglar has argued very ingeniously in favour of his opinion of the small size of the original *Lâlkot* of Anang-pâl, which he restricts to the western half of the strong natural position which I have assigned to Lâlkot. I look upon the site with the eye of an Engineer, and I cannot conceive that any sane person would neglect to occupy the *whole* of the high ground, which forms a strong natural fortress, protected all round either by a deep vallinserty or by a steep slope. To have occupied only one-half of this strong site would have been equivalent to an abandonment of all the advantages of the position; besides leaving ample cover to a besieger in the low ground outside the unoccupied portion. I consider it a fatal objection to Mr. Beglar's view that the Anang Tâl, which was excavated in the solid rock by Anang-pâl, the builder of Lâlkot, is *outside* the line of wall which he assigns to Lâlkot. In case of siege, the garrison would therefore have been cut off from their chief, and only certain, supply of water.

The following is a table showing the proportion of lime in mortars taken from different localities, as ascertained by analysis :—

No. I.

Taken from the remains of the wall running direct from Adham Khan's Tomb to Sohan gate.—Contains in 100 grs.—

Unvitrified earth	...	...	99 grs.
Soluble matter and salts	...	...	1 gr.

No. II.

From lower courses of the walls of Sohan gate, which do not appear to have undergone alteration or repair from Muhammadans.—Contains in 100 grs.—

Unvitrified earth ..	...	...	97 grs.
Soluble matter and lime	...	...	3 „

No. III.

From the upper walls of fort, which have undergone repair from the Muhammadans.—Contains in 100 grs.—

Vitrified earth ...	...	...	79 grs.
Lime	...	...	21 „

No. IV.

From portion of east branch walls near E, where the excavations have been made.—Contains in 100 grs.—

Vitrified earth ...	...	...	70 grs.
Lime	...	...	30 „

No. V.

From portion of the east branch walls at F, where excavations have been made.—Contains in 100 grs.—

Vitrified earth ...	...	...	74 grs.
Lime	...	...	26 „

No. VI.

From ruins of houses on other side of valley opposite F.—Contains in 100 grs.—

Vitrified earth ...	...	...	78 grs.
Lime	...	...	22 „

General Cunningham allows the city of Dilli to have existed before the building of the fort of Anang-pâl. Naturally, when Anang-pâl prepared to build a fort there, he would not think of enclosing the whole city, which must have been very extensive, as is evidenced by the enormous extent of the outer fort of Ray Pithora, which was built expressly to protect the city. Anang-pâl, in building the fort, would build it outside the city, as is usual, and as the iron pillar must have stood within the city, his fort or Lâlkot (literally the red citadel) could not have inclosed it.

In a military point of view, a fort occupying only part of a piece of high ground is doubtless, as General Cunningham tells me, weaker than one which includes the entire of the high ground, but as the name of the fort implies, it was only a citadel, and must necessarily have been small.

But, apart from this, I contend that because with modern knowledge and experience we have learnt that a fort ought to occupy the whole ot a piece of high ground of moderate dimensions, it by no means follows that the ancient Hindu military engineers knew the rule; we have no means of judging accurately of the skill possessed by the ancient Hindus in fort-building, but as an instanee of how grossly they blundered, I may point to the fort of Gwalior, which, almost impregnable by nature, was weakened by being so built as to exclude beyond the walls the wells on which in long sieges the garrison must depend for water. Iltitmish, profiting by experience, secured these wells when the fort fell, by a wall which for massive strength is unrivalled; and this is not the only instance where palpable blunders have been committed by Hindu military engineers. It is even possible that the builders of the citadel may have trusted to the difficulty of approaching the walls on the city side as a compensation for the weakness in not including the whole of the high ground, for history has always shown that it is no easy matter for an enemy to force a way through a hostile city.

It is possible that a line of walls different either to the direct line of walls or to Alauddin's walls, the eastern branch walls, may have existed in the Hindu period, running outside of and inclosing the direct line of wall. But if such were the case, not the slightest remains of it exist.

From the evidence of facts alone, it is impossible to prove that a third line of walls, as just stated, did not exist, for, however improbable it be to suppose that all traces have been so effectually destroyed as to leave no remains whatever or traces, it is perfectly possible. It in fact amounts to an attempt to prove a negation, which is impossible. But I will now show from history that the accounts of the ancient historians, wherever they bear on the topography of old Delhi, confirm in an unconscious but unavoidable way what I have stated regarding old Delhi and Alauddin's walls. Their accounts are in fact unintelligible and absurd, if we do not adopt the positions I have attempted to prove from the evidence of facts.

For convenience, I will first give all the quotations and references on the subject that I shall use subsequently:—

(I).—Briggs' Ferishta, I, p. 281.

In the reign of Kai Kobad, Ferishta writes:—

" This gave rise to two factions, who encamped on opposite " sides of the city,—the Mughals espoused the cause of the " young king, and Khiljis that of Jalâluddin Firuz.

" The latter marched with his party to Bahâdurpur, a " measure forced upon him by the opposite party, headed by " Malik Atmir Kachan and Malik Atmir Surkha, who, " jealous of the power of the Khiljis, had issued a proclama- " tion proscribing by name all the principal Khiljian officers.

" Jalâluddin Firuz, the first on the list, naturally placed " himself in a posture of defence. Malik Atmir Kachan " had been deputed by the Mughal party to invite Jalâlud- " din Firuz to a conference with the sick king, when a " plot was formed for his assassination, but having obtained " secret information of the measure, he slew the person who " came to invite him with his own hand at the door of his " tent. The sons of Jalâluddin Firuz, renowned for their " courage, immediately put themselves at the head of 500 " chosen horse, and making an assault on the camp of the " Mughals cut their way to the royal tents, pitched in the " centre of the army, and seizing the infant king, carried " him off, together with the sons of Malik Fakruddin Kot- " wal, in spite of opposition.

" Malik Atmir Surkha pursued them in their flight, " but lost his life in the attempt, with many other Mughal " chiefs of distinction. When this exploit became known in " the city, the mob flew to arms. They marched out in

" thousands, and encamping at the Budaon gate, prepared
" to go against Malik Jalâluddin Firuz and rescue the infant
" king, for they greatly dreaded the power of the Khiljis. "

(2).—Briggs' Ferishta, I, p. 299.

" The king " (Jalâluddin Firuz) " caused both Sidi Mul-
" lah and Kazi Jalâluddin Kashâni to be apprehended,
" and brought before him for examination; they persisted in
" their innocence, and as no other witness appeared against
" them, the accusation was rendered doubtful. The king
" therefore caused a fire to be prepared at Bahadurpur, in
" order that they might be submitted to the fiery ordeal, to
" purge themselves of their guilt, and having left the city
" to see the ceremony, he ordered a circle to be railed off
" round the pile. "

(3).—Briggs' Ferishta, I, pp. 329, 330.

" The army of Kutlugh Khan consisted of 200,000 horse,
" who promised themselves the conquest of Hindustan. "—
" Then crossing the river he proceeded to Delhi, where
" he encamped on the banks of the Jumna without oppo-
" sition. "—" Alauddin Khilji on this pressing occasion
" called a council of his nobles, and, in spite of remonstrances,
" he resolved to attack the enemy. He left the city and
" marched out of the Budaon gate with 30,000 horse and 270
" elephants; he drew up in order of battle on the plains beyond
" the suburbs, where the enemy formed to receive him."

(4).—Briggs' Ferishta, I, p. 341.

When the king Alauddin was engaged in the siege of Rantambhor, Haji Maula formed a conspiracy in Delhi, regarding which Ferishta writes:—" The mob now increasing,
" Haji Maula sent parties to secure the city gates, and de-
" spatched a messenger to Alauddin Ayaz, the kotwal of the
" new city" (Siri) " to come and examine the king's order.
" This magistrate, however, having heard of the disturbances,
" paid no regard to the message, but shut his own gates."

" Malik Hamid, the king's foster-brother, having raised a
" party within the city, seized the Budaon gate on the 7th
" day of the usurpation, and took the field, where he was
" joined by a party of troops who happened to be marching to
" Delhi from Amroha to be mustered with these troops.
" Malik Hamid re-entered the city at the Ghazni gate
" by surprise, but being opposed at the second gate, called
" Bhind, by Haji Maula and his associates, a sharp conflict
" ensued Malik Hamid being dismounted, ran up to Haji

" Maula, who was leading on his party with great bravery, " and dragging him from his horse, threw him down in the " street and slew him, having himself in the meantime " received several wounds. The faction, dispirited by the " death of their chief, gave ground and dispersed throughout " the city. Malik Hamid then, proceeding to the Ruby palace, " deposed and slew Shah Nunni Alai."

(5).—Briggs' Ferishta, I, p. 355.

After the retreat of Turghai Khan and his Mughals, who had, after the retreat of the first army under Kutlugh Khan, invaded and come opposite to Delhi for the second time in Alauddin's reign, Ferishta writes:—" Alauddin relieved from " the perils of the invasion, caused a palace to be built on " the spot where he had intrenched himself, and directed " the citadel of old Delhi to be pulled down and built anew."

(6).—Writing of Alauddin's reign at its conclusion, Ferishta says (Briggs, I, 376) :—

" Order and justice prevailed in the most distant provinces, " and magnificence raised her head in the land; palaces, " mosques, and universities, baths, mausoba, forts, and all " kinds of public and private buildings seemed to rise as if " by magic."

(7).—Briggs' Ferishta, I, p. 472.

In the reign of Nasiruddin (A. H. 792), Ferishta writes:— " The prince Peer Muhammad made a rapid movement to " the left, and passing the enemy's line, pushed forward to " the capital. He there engaged the troops who guarded " the walls, and having set fire to the Budaon gate, forced " his way into the city. When he had entered the palace, " he was joyfully received by the citizens, who flocked to " pay him their respects. Abu Bakr closely pursued him, " and arrived at Delhi on the same day, when, forcing the " guards which had been placed at the gates, he attacked " the palace, expelled his rival, and recovered the town."

(8).—Elliott's History of India, Vol II, p. 336, Minhâju-Siraj,—

" On the day appointed, on Friday the 6th of the month " of Rajab, A. H. 634 (March 1237), the whole body of " heretics and Karmatians, to the number of about 1,000 " men, armed with swords, shields, and arrows, and other " weapons, came in two parties to the Jâma Masjid of " Delhi. One division came from the northern side, and " passed by the fort of Nur to the gate of the Masjid."

(9).—Elliott, Vol. II, p. 342. Minhaj Siraj.

"On Friday, the 7th, Zi-ul Kadda, the followers of Khwaja "Mahzab, distributed 3,000 chitals among a lot of foolish "men, and incited inimical feelings among some even of "this author's kindred. (God forgive them!) They made "a riot in the Jami Masjid after prayers, and drew their "swords upon him. By God's mercy, the author had a knife "and a staff, which he seized, and with the help of some "armed slaves, whom he had with him, he made his way "through the crowd."

"The Generals and Turks took the fort, and next day, "on Saturday, the 8th, Zi-ul Kadda, 639 A. H. (May 1242), "they obtained possession of the whole city, and the Sultan "was made prisoner."

These events happened in the reign of Sultan Moizuddeen Bahram Shah, in whose reign his army revolted, and, as Sir H. Elliott says in p. 341, reached Delhi on the 19th Shaban, A. H. 639, and besieged it, and at last took it as detailed above.

(10).—Delhi Archæological Society's Journal: extract from the *Zafarnamah*:—

"On the 7th, Rabi ul Sani, Timur advanced." (Ferishta has 7th, Jami-ul-Awal.)

The proceedings of Timur were:—He crossed into the Doab at Pânipat, and on 27th Rabi ul Awal, H. 801, arrived opposite Delhi, and stormed Jehanumah (erected by Firuz Shah, where now stands Hindu Rao's house). The division sent did it, and returned on 29th, then immediately Timur invested Loni, a fortified village (four or five miles from present Delhi, between the Jumna and the Hindan), and captured it after three hours.

On 1st Rabi ul Akhir, Timur inspected the fords of the Jumna, and crossed over to Jehanumah with a small escort, which was attacked by Mallu Khan, but which attack was repulsed with loss.

On 3rd Rabi ul Sani (*i. e.*, Rabi ul Akhir) Timur's army encamped on the banks of the Jumna. One hundred thousand Hindus (Timur's prisoners) are said to have been there butchered.

On Sunday, the 5th, the entire army crossed and encamped in Kûdsea Bagh, and on the 7th moved to attack Mahmud.

"From amongst the right wing" (of Timur) "Prince Pir "Muhammad took his troop and attacked the enemy, and

"the brave men of the right wing in a body made an "attack on the left wing of the enemy, which appeared to "stand firm through the support of Togai Khan, and "having rendered it helpless, they pushed it back beyond "Hauz Khâs.

"Amir Jahan Shah with reserve of the left wing out-"marched the enemy and went as far as the gates. Sultan "Mahmud and Mallu Khan having fled, each by himself, "retreated into the city and shut the gates.

"Sahib Kiran, about the time of second prayers, rode to the "gates of Delhi, and inspected it with a careful eye; then "he turned the reins of his horse, and alighted on the banks "of Hauz Khâs; the Hauz Khâs is a tank built by Feroz "Shah.

"Upon that very night, when half of it had passed away, "Sultan Mahmud from the Hauz Ranee gate, and Mallu "Khan from the Burkah gate, which two gates are on the "south side of the walls, went out, fled, and wandered in "the jungles. That very night Sahib Kiran" (Timur) "gave "strict orders to Amir Allahdad and the other Amirs "of the army that they should strictly guard the gates of "the city, and particularly that gate whence the people "had fled.

"On the 8th, Wednesday, Sahib Kiran ordered the gate of "the plain to be opened, and he came and sat in the "Idgah; this gate of the city is situated in front of Hauz "Khâs; having ordered his tent to be pitched there, he held "a public durbar.

"Here was represented to him the requests of the nobility "of Delhi, and he bestowed protection on the inhabitants of "Delhi, and, according to custom, he placed the drum on the "gate of the city.

"On the 10th, the accountants of the kutcherry, accord-"ing to the royal order, came into the city and inquired "into the different items of Government property, and the "revenue officers were engaged in collecting the revenue. "Next morning Timur's officers suggested a banquet and "festivities after their toil, and the king agreed, and so a "grand feast was held.

"On the 16th, Thursday, one of the divisions of the army "collected at the Delhi gate, and began to attack the people "and impede the proceedings of the inhabitants. The "order which the world obeys was issued, that the nobles

"and venerable men should stay the army, but as it was the
"will of God to ruin this city and punish the inhabitants
"thereof, the means of bringing this about had also been
"ordered; some of the means are the following: Chilpan
"Malik Aga and some ladies of the court went into the city
"to see Hazar Seitun, which Malik Jonah had made; more-
"over, the nobles of Sahib Kiran's court and the secretaries,
"such as Julal-ul-islam and the other accountants, were sit-
"ting at the gate, and taking an account of the royal pro-
"perty. For the protection of all these an army had been
"despatched into the city; moreover, several thousand horse-
"men, who had obtained orders for corn and sugar, entered
"the town. Finally, certain nobles had received orders to
"take a large force and seize all the Guebers that were not
"inhabitants of Delhi, but had come in from the country
"around, for the sake of protection. When a great body of
"soldiers were thus drawn together, then the Guebers of the
"three cities of Delhi—Siri, Jahanpanna, and old Delhi—
"rose in rebellion and began to fight; also a great many of
"the infidels set fire to their own household property, and
"burned themselves, with their wives and children.
"At this crisis the nobles ordered the gates to be shut, that
"the army now outside might not enter, nor any great
"amount of harm be done, but on this night about 15,000
"troops were in the fort. On the 17th, the next day,
"many of the mohullas of Jahanpanna were publicly
"plundered; the same continued on the 18th, Saturday.
"On Sunday they turned their attention to old Delhi,
"whither many of the Hindu infidels had fled; these being
"collected in the Jâma Masjid were prepared for battle
"and slaughter. Amirshah Malik and Ali Sultan Tuachee
"having taken with them 500 tried warriors went towards it,
"and with the stroke of the infidel-slaughtering sword sent
"them all to hell; thus on the day above-mentioned all
"old Delhi was plundered."

"The form and position of the three cities were as fol-
"low; Siri was circular, and surrounded on all sides by a
"wall; a similar wall surrounded old Delhi, and from that
"wall of Siri which looks to the north-east to that wall
"of old Delhi which looks south-west there are built walls
"on both sides, and the space between them is called Jahan-
"panah, and this town is larger than Delhi. From Siri
"three gates open into Jahanpanah and four into the country.

" Jahanpanah has 13 gates, 6 to the north-west and 7 " towards the south-east, and by Delhi we mean these 3 cities, " and 30 gates open outwards."

(11).—Delhi Archæological Society's Journal: *Tozuk Timuri* :—

" Siri was a circular town, very magnificent, with pukka " fortifications of bricks and stone, very strong. Old Delhi " was very strong, much resembling Siri, but larger. The " distance between the two forts of Delhi and Siri is very " great, and on both sides strong walls of stone and mortar " are built, and this is called Jahanpanah, and the space " between these walls is inhabited. In these three cities are " 30 gates—in Jahanpanah 13, 7 to the south-east and 6 to " the north-west; in Siri are 7 gates, 4 of which open outwards " towards the country and 3 into Jahanpanah; in old Delhi " are 7 gates, of which some open into the country and some " into Jahanpanah."

From quotation No. 3 it appears that when Kutlugh Khan invaded India in Alauddin Khilji's reign, Siri had not been built, as there is no mention of, or allusion to, it anywhere.

From quotation No. 4 it appears that when, after Kutlugh Khan's retreat, Alauddin was engaged in the siege of Rantambhor, Siri was in existence; had in fact been newly built, as it is called the new city.

Further, it appears that when the king's foster-brother attempted to put down the conspiracy in Delhi, and had surprised the Ghazni gate (which General Cunningham identifies with the Ranjit gate, and in which identification I concur), he could not gain admission to the palace, which we know was close to the Masjid Kutb-ul-Islam, without passing through another gate called the Bhind gate. It is evident that at that time two walls intervened between the palace and the outside of Ghazni gate. The palace was in the vicinity of the palace of Kushak Sabz, or the green palace, which itself was at the back of the Kutb Masjid, for at the back wall of the Masjid, recent excavations have yielded several basket-loads of green enamelled tiles with Arabic inscriptions and ornaments, and disclosed the corner and portions of floor of a large, pukka, well plastered Muhammadan structure; we are therefore justified in identifying (an identification due to General Cunningham) the Kushak Sabz with this structure

In the direct wall from Sohan gate to Adham Khan's Tomb, which I call the wall or rampart of the original Lâlkot, there exists to this day traces of a gateway about its middle third, opposite Jog Maya; this gate then, it is evident, was the Bhind gate, and clearly Malik Hamid entering by the Ghazni gate could not possibly get to the palace without forcing this gate also. It is evident also that the ramparts in which this gate formed an entrance, extending from Adham Khan's Tomb to Sohan gate, of which traces still exist, must then have stood entire, for had they not been in existence then, the proceeding of Malik Hamid in forcing the gate, instead of quietly marching in through the gaps in the rampart. is perfectly unintelligible.*

This quotation, therefore, shows clearly that at the time when, after Kutlugh Khan's retreat, Alauddin was engaged in the siege of Runtambhor, the fort of Siri had been newly finished, and that the direct wall from Sohan gate to Adham Khan's Tomb, with its one gate, which we will now call the Bhind gate (and I have so marked it in plan), was standing entire.

We now turn to Elliott's History, quotation No. 8. It appears from this that in A. H. 634, *i. e.*, long before Alauddin Khilji's reign, the Jâma Masjid stood outside the fort of Nur, which had to be passed by in entering it from the north. The plan will show at a glance that this could only hold true if the fort which is called Nur, which clearly is a name for the fort which we call Lâlkot of Anang-pâl, was bounded on the east side by the direct line of wall from Sohan gate to Adham Khan's Tomb, leaving the Kutb Masjid outside.*

Let us now examine quotation No. 9.

When the rebels besieged Delhi in Moizudin Bahram Shah's reign, it appears that on the 7th Zi-ul-kadda, the followers of the rebel Khwaja Mahzab took the fort or citadel, and that on the same day they distributed 3,000 chitals among the people of the city, who were thus induced to create a disturbance in the city and in the Jâma Masjid.

If then the Jâma Masjid* had not stood outside of the citadel, which was then in the rebels' possession, what was the necessity of the rebel General distributing money to create a disturbance there? Clearly, if the Jâma Masjid stood within the citadel, as must necessarily happen if we assume the eastern branch line of walls from Adham Khan's Tomb to be the

* See Plate I.

rampart of Anang-pal's Lalkot, the proceeding of the rebel General in distributing money to create a disturbance in what was already in his possession becomes the height of absurdity.

But the meaning is clear: the rebels took the citadel on the 7th, and distributed money in the city, where stood the Jâma Masjid (out of the citadel), to gain over partisans in the city, which also was inclosed by a fortification called the outer Kilah of Ray Pithora.

And the next day, *i. e.*, 8th, they took possession of the city and took the king prisoner.

If the king's palace had, with the Jâma Masjid, been within the citadel, he would have been taken prisoner on the 7th, when the citadel fell, and not on the 8th, when the city fell into the rebels' hands.

These quotations clearly show that the original fort of Lalkot, or Nur, as Minhaj Siraj calls it did not include within its walls the Jâma Masjid and the palaces.

Turn we now to quotation No. 5. After the second invasion of the Mughals under Turgai Khan, Alauddin directed the citadel of old Delhi to be pulled down and built anew.

We have seen that a short time previously, as already noticed, the original citadel wall (running direct from Adham Khan's Tomb to Sohan gate) was standing with its Bhind gate. We now see it ordered to be pulled down and built anew. The chain is now complete: Alauddin had just escaped a fearful danger, and was taking care that in future he should be better prepared. There would, however, have been no sense in his ordering the walls of the citadel to be pulled down and built anew in the self-same position, but the order becomes perfectly intelligible if we suppose the order to rebuild did not mean that the self-same wall was to be pulled down and rebuilt, but that another, stronger, or larger, or some way differing from the pulled down wall, was to be erected instead. As he had just escaped a peril, it is perfectly natural he should wish to enlarge his citadel, so as to include and afford protection to the palaces and to the grand Masjid, to which (as I shall afterwards show) Alauddin made the first real addition. The new citadel, we should therefore expect, would include these, and this is precisely what the eastern branch of walls does; but Alauddin was a good General, and may have seen that the occupation of only half a piece of high ground by a fort was a mistake, and, accordingly, enlarged it so as to

make it naturally stronger, and at the same time to afford protection to the Masjid and the palaces.*

That Alauddin's order in regard to dismantling the old citadel, or rather portion of it, was carried out, is evident from the totally dismantled state of the wall running from Adham Khan's Tomb to Sohan gate: that his order to rebuild was also begun to be carried out is also evident from the existence of the eastern branch wall, which can be no other than the one he intended to construct, for we have no mention, either before or after, of any other king rebuilding the walls of the citadel, and the disposition, materials, and construction of the wall all prove conclusively that it is of a period widely distant from Anang-pâl's reign; therefore, as the wall is clearly not Hindu, and, as history mentions, of no Muhammadan (or Hindu king for that matter) rebuilding the walls of the citadel except Alauddin, this eastern branch wall can fairly be attributed to no one else. It now remains only to show that this order of his, like most of his other orders regarding the construction of public structures, was begun on, but never completed. But I am omitting quotation No. 6, whence it appears that Alauddin built more than one fort. We know he built Siri, and the other can be none other than the enlargement of the Lâlkot of Anang-pâl, the citadel of old Delhi.

Turn we now to quotation No. 7. It appears from this that in Nasruddin Muhammad's time, the prince Muhammad, to obtain access to the palace, had only to force the Budaon gate, and no other. The Budaon gate I will presently prove to be one in the outer fort of Ray Pithora; and if Alauddin's extension of the citadel in closing the Jâma Masjid and palaces had been completed, prince Muhammad would have had to force, not only the outer Budaon gate, but also some gate of the inner citadel; as no such occurrence is mentioned, we are justified in concluding that no such obstruction existed.

It is true Ferishta may have omitted to notice the forcing of a second gate, if any existed; but, considering the minuteness with which he details the occurrences, such a supposition, though not indeed impossible, is highly improbable.†

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* See Plate I.

† *Note by General A. Cunningham.*—I think that the statement of Ferishta leaves this point quite unsettled; for although only one gate is mentioned as having been passed by Muhammad, yet his opponent Abubakr, on the same day, is said to have "forced the guards which had been placed at the *gates*" before he reached the palace.

I will presently give other more conclusive evidence to the same effect, but must first prove that the Budaon gate was a gate in the outer fort of Ray Pithora.

From quotation (1) it is evident that to attack Jalaluddin Firuz, who was encamped at Bahadurpur, the people collected themselves at the Budaon gate.

From quotation (2) it is evident Bahadurpur was within a short way of Delhi.

There is no other Bahadurpur which can answer the description except the Bahadurpur near Tughlakabad (which last, however, was not then in existence).

From the first portion of quotation (4) the Budaon gate appears to have been a gate of the city.

From quotation (3) it appears further that the Budaon gate was the outermost gate facing the Jumna, for Alauddin marched out of it to meet the Mughals, who were encamped near Kilukari on the Jumna.

Budaon gate is, further, the one gate most frequently mentioned in history, and consequently must have been on the most important road into Delhi.

Opposite the gate which I have marked Budaon in my sketch is an old bridge* on the rivulet, which forms a natural defensive ditch along the walls on that side.

No remains of bridges exist across this nullah at the other gates, or indeed anywhere else at the gates of Kilah Ray Pithora.

Therefore it is reasonable to suppose that the most important road entered the city over this bridge, and consequently necessarily through the gate which I have marked Budaon.

This gate besides fulfils all the requirements in the other quotations; the evidence regarding it is therefore complete.

I now turn to the other evidences to show that Alauddin's extension of the Lâlkot was never completed.

Let not the evidence to this effect from the facts detailed before, which notices a gap of 500 yards, and in which even General Cunningham has failed to discover traces of a fort wall, be forgotten.

Now we turn to quotation No. 10. From the last portion of it we find the historian enumerates three cities as composing old Delhi, *viz.*, the citadel Siri, the fort of Delhi with ten gates, which can be no other than the outer

* Plate I.

fort of Ray Pithora, which is, as noticed by the historian, larger than Siri, and which alone has ten gates, corresponding with the historian's account (quotation No. 11 says, indeed, old Delhi has seven gates, but this is clearly a mistake, for he states a total of thirty, of which seven in Siri and thirteen in Jahanpanah make only twenty, leaving ten for old Delhi); and the intervening space of Jahanpanah.

In these accounts we have no mention of the citadel or Lâlkot of old Delhi, and as the account is circumstantial and minute, it is most improbable that both historians forgot to mention a most important fort, the citadel of old Delhi, if it had existed at the time.

But Ibn Batuta, who visited Delhi shortly after Alauddin's reign, during whose visit at least, the citadel, if ever finished, ought to have been standing almost new, makes no mention of any citadel or Lâlkot in old Delhi: he describes four cities (General Cunningham's report on Delhi, para. 2) in Tughlak's reign, which General Cunningham identifies with Siri, Jahanpanah, outer Kilah Ray Pithora or old Delhi, and Tughlakabad, which had been newly built by the emperor.

Let us now turn to quotation 10 again.

From the minute account there given of Timur's proceedings at Delhi, we see that up to the 16th Timur and his troops had not entered the city, although he had sent his accountants and officers to collect the revenue and take account of the royal property.

On the 16th, however, under various pretexts or orders, 15,000 men of Timur's army got into the city, and began plundering the mohullas of Jahanpanah: this plundering continued till the 19th, when they, having apparently exhausted Jahanpanah and Siri, turned their attention to old Delhi. The historian distinctly asserts that on the 19th (and not before) the troops turned their attention to old Delhi, which had hitherto escaped, and where the infidels, determined to fight, had collected in the Jâma Masjid. If then the citadel begun by Alauddin had ever been completed, the "infidels" need not have taken up so indefensible a position as the Jâma Masjid; they had ample time between the 16th and 19th to have secured the gates of the citadel and defended themselves much better in the citadel; but they did nothing of the kind, and for the best of reasons, there was no citadel for them to defend. Anang-pâl's original

Lâlkot had had one of its sides dismantled by Alauddin, so that was not defensible clearly, and if Alauddin's new walls which he begun had been completed, their conduct in not securing and defending it during the three days the soldiers were plundering Jahanpanah and Siri, but collecting instead in the Jâma Masjid, becomes perfectly unintelligible.

From the above evidences, I think only one conclusion regarding the existence of a defensible citadel in old Delhi can be drawn, *viz.*, that up to a certain portion of Alauddin's reign, a small citadel, pretty much of the size of other citadels, did exist in old Delhi, bounded on the east by a wall running direct from Adham Khan's Tomb to Sohan gate, in which wall existed a gate, called the Bhind gate; that after this period no defensible citadel was within the fort of Ray Pithora.

I will close the subject by giving one more evidence to show that the walls branching off from Sohan gate, and going round Metcalfe house with a long detour, and back with a gap to Adham Khan's Tomb, are Alauddin Khilji's.

Extract from Delhi Archæological Society's Journal:—

" Alauddin also repaired the Kilah of Pithora, that is, the " fort of old Delhi, after it had sustained severe damage in " many places, and the blood and heads of a great many " Mughals were sunk in the foundations thereof." This clearly implies that the walls that Alauddin built must have been built up from their very foundations. But what is most curious is, that in excavating the walls of the eastern branch at F, as shown in the plan* and sections, a small plastered chobootra, much resembling a grave, was found at a great depth, at the foundations of the fort walls.

The Lâlkot of Anang-pâl, as determined above and shown in sketch,† had five gates. Two (one called the Ghazni or Ranjit) in the portion which was common to both the citadel and the outer fort of Ray Pithora, and three in the portion opening into Kilah Ray Pithora, one of these last being a postern, and the two others the Sohan and Bhind gates respectively. Alauddin's extension never having been completed, naturally has no gates; Kilah Ray Pithora, as distinct from the citadel of Anang-pâl, has eight openings outwards into the country, and three into the citadel; but taken as

* Plate II.
† Plate I.

including the citadel, it has ten gates open outwards, eight in its own distinct walls and two in the walls common to it and to the citadel, corresponding with the historian's account, in whose time, as shown above, the citadel had no existence of itself. The subject now closes.

I now proceed to furnish proofs in support of my other assertion, and I shall begin with the Kutb Minar, which General Cunningham in a series of acute arguments pronounces Muhammadan, but in which I beg respectfully to differ from him altogether.

There is, however, so intimate a connexion between the Minar and the Masjid Kutb-ul-Islam, which also I, differing from General Cunningham, maintain to be essentially Hindu in design, and only partially and superficially altered by the Muhammadans for their purposes, that it is impossible to treat of the one without the other. I shall therefore in the following discussions consider the whole of the Kutb Masjid and Minar in its entirety.

The drawings give plans of Masjid and outline sections of portions; they make no pretensions to beauty; they are drawn solely for the purpose of showing the interdependence and harmony of the various parts: elaborate drawings of the carved pillars, and roofs and arches, and sculpture, and the infinity of other ornamental details would demand far too much time, and would serve no purpose that would not be better attained at greatly less cost by photography; that art alone can adequately represent the beautiful ornamentation and carvings.

In the course of excavations undertaken by orders of the Director General of the Archæological Survey, the positions and results are shown in the accompanying drawings;* it was found—

(1).—That the floor of the Masjid (not courtyard) consisted of two layers of well-dressed stone close set, 9 and 10 inches thick respectively, resting on a basis of rubble stone of enormous dimensions and indefinite depth, the excavation having been carried down over 14 feet without coming to the bottom of the layers of rubble stone. These two layers of dressed stone extend throughout the entire area of Masjid, courtyard, and cloisters of inner inclosure.

In the courtyard, however, these layers are overlaid by another layer of stones of irregular shapes and sizes, and

* Plates III, IV, & VI.

evidently belonging to various portions of some ruined structure: the consequence of this is, that the level of the courtyard is higher than the level of the floor of Masjid and cloisters.

The iron *lát* or pillar was found resting on the second layer of dressed stones composing the floor; its total height from the top of the capital to the bottom of its base is 23 feet 8 inches. The base of the pillar is an irregular knob in shape, resting on several little pieces like bits of bar-iron, let into the stone underneath, and secured with lead. The plan and section will explain this clearly.*

The floor of the Masjid and surroundings within the inner inclosure is, however, not quite horizontal; there is a regular fall of 7½ or 8 inches per 100 feet from the western extremity, which is the highest portion of the inner inclosure, to the east end, which is the lowest, the total fall being 17 inches from end to end.

The excavations outside and at the foot of the centre of west wall disclosed the remains of a structure of rubble-dressed stone plaster and green enamelled tiles: the enamelled tiles were found lying in heaps, and several basket-loads have been found in this portion of the trenches.†

The structure above-mentioned has been identified by General Cunningham with the Kushak Sabz, or green palace, mentioned in early Muhammadan history.‡

The sections show the benches and sloping platform which in a measure connected this with the Masjid.§

On continuing the trenches along the foot of the walls both ways, it was found that this bench was not continuous, having been broken in several places: where these breaks occurred, the real face of the west wall of the Masjid appeared ornamented with a peculiar double cornice.

The benches apparently served no other purpose but the one of effectually hiding the double cornice which General Cunningham pronounces original Hindu, and in which opinion I concur.‖

Near the north-western corner of the outer face of the inner enclosure was found a gap in the face of the wall

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* Plate V.

† Plate III.

‡ *Note by General A. Cunningham.*—This identification was suggested by me before I had seen the glazed tiles. I have now seen them; and as they are unmistakeably *blue*, although some have a greenish tinge, they offer no indication as to the position of the green palace.

§ Plate III.

‖ Plate III.

below the double cornice, and extending down to the foundations: this gap or hollow leads into a small hole in the thickness of the wall which appears to have once been dug into, then closed by brick and rubble set in mud and mortar, and subsequently again dug into slightly.

I have not attempted to dig into and trace it further without orders from the Director General, but think it possible it may lead to subterranean chambers.

The double cornice interrupted frequently by the bench where it happens to be entire was traced on both sides along the outer face of the west wall of the Kutb Masjid and of Iltitmish's extension right up to the north and south extremities on the west side of the extension. The wall, and with it the cornice, then turned round the corner and proceeded along the outer face of the walls on the north and south of Iltitmish's extension. Gradually, however, as the present ground level on the south side fell, the double cornice was found nearer and nearer the surface, and finally emerged and was seen to be continuous with the curious double cornice that exists on the outer face of the outer south wall of Iltitmish's extension. On the north side, however, the cornice was found at long intervals, showing that the north outer wall of the extension had once been dismantled; no portion of this north wall now exists above ground, and the tracing of it under ground was attended with some difficulty. The cornice, however, was at last found definitely to turn round a corner and proceed, though with extensive breaks, along the outside of a wall which must once have existed at the back of the detached group of pillars still standing at the east end, outside the east gateway of the Kutb Masjid. Fortunately, enough of the corner remained under ground to show that neither the north outer wall of Iltitmish's extension nor its east outer wall, just discovered, extended beyond the corner at which they met.

On the outer face of the south outer wall, as already noticed, the double cornice* now appears above ground, and runs right through, interrupted by the outer south gate of the inclosure, and by the Alai Darwâza right through to the end of Alauddin's great extension eastward, and turns round the south-east corner of his extension: the workmanship, however, of the portion that runs along Alauddin's extension differs to a perfectly and easily noticeable degree from the workmanship

* Plate V.

of the other portions. At varying depths below the double cornice (which itself is level, or meant to be so, though now slightly distorted in places) from a few inches to several feet is to be found the offset projecting from 1½ to 2 feet beyond the face of the dressed stone wall, composed of rubble stone and marking the top of the foundations; it is clear that the ground level originally when these walls were built differed very materially from what it is now, and the varying level of the foundations at the different parts represents correctly the varying ground level at the time the structure was erected.

Excavation at the east and south inner gates disclosed, the former, that the present east steps continue down below their present ground level till terminated by a large platform (of which the limits were not ascertained, owing to its going under the existing road) of double layer of dressed stone, close set without mortar like the floor of the inner Masjid; the latter, *i. e.*, excavation at the inner south gate, disclosed the bases of pillars resting on a platform at the same level as the platform above mentioned at the bottom of steps of east gateway. No excavation was made down the centre of the inner south gateway, but such a one would be desirable.

Excavations at the inner north gate disclosed only additions and alterations by the Muhammadans. At this gate there appears to have been made the greatest amount of alterations by the Muhammadans.

Two images in black slate, of Lakshmi, were found in the trenches, also some old earthen lamps, &c., &c.

Opposite Iltitmish's tomb the excavations disclosed a narrow opening closed by large slabs, running horizontally towards the tomb. As the tracing of it involved the destruction of the platform outside the building which incloses his tomb, it was left undisturbed.

Continuing the trench along the west face of the west wall beyond the point where the cornice turned round the corner, the excavations disclosed walls exactly in continuation of the west wall of Kutb's and Iltitmish's Masjids, faced also with dressed stone, but without the double cornice, or trenches to hide the double cornice.

General Cunningham pronounces the double cornice to be Hindu, and the very fact of its having been hidden away and built in by trenches shows it cannot be Muhammadan,

who certainly would not first make an elaborate cornice and then hide it away by a trench of rubble and mortar: further, the entire construction of the wall below the double cornice of the cornice itself, and of the portion above the cornice up to a certain (but not a constant) height, is so uniform, being built of accurately cut-stone, set without a particle of cement, and so entirely different to the portions which, from the existence of Arabic inscriptions, we know to be Muhammadan, that, independently of the fact of the double cornice having intentionally been hidden away, we should be justified in calling the portions with the uniform construction Hindu. It is needless to enlarge the report by trying to prove what is not questioned, and never can be questioned; if there is a single thing in the Kutb which can at the first glance and with the utmost certainty be pronounced pre-Muhammadan, it is this.

It follows then that—(1) in the original Hindu period, the inner and outer inclosure walls forming now the back walls of the inner and outer colonnades, existed.

(2).—That the outer south gate, the foundations and workmanship of whose superstructure corresponds with that of the rest of the Hindu walls, also existed.

(3).—That the steps at the east gate inner inclosure, and the east gate itself, the foundations of which are continuous with that of the Hindu walls, and which, besides in workmanship, corresponds with the Hindu portion of the walls, also existed, though they have doubtless undergone superficial alteration, since the steps by having had a number covered up by a platform higher than the original Hindu platform and hiding it away.

(4).—That the remains of the inner south gate with its stumps of buried pillars, is Hindu also.

(5).—That the level of the floor, outer inclosure, at the Hindu period must have been the same as the level of the buried platforms at the bottom of the east steps, and on which the bases of pillars at the south inner gate stand.

(6).—That the outer inclosure had at the Hindu period only one gate, that to the south, of which remains still exist. In connexion with this point, I refer to my previous account, where I have noticed an approach consisting of rude steps cut in the projecting rocky spur of the high ground on which these structures stand, and almost directly opposite to this south outer gate of the outer inclosure.

(7).—The Muhammadans deliberately covered up the Hindu double cornice with benches of their own rude construction, and altered the floor level of the outer enclosure, which, as it now exists, and as it must have existed in Iltitmish's reign, as widened by the floor of the colonnade ascribed to him, is higher than the original Hindu floor.

(8).—That the Muhammadans left intact the floor of the inner cloisters and masjid, and the iron pillar, but covered up the original Hindu floor of the courtyard with absolutely no conceivable purpose, except it be to hide effectually traces of Hindu temples which may have stood in the courtyard, or to hide Hindu inscriptions : for by doing what they have, they have made the floor of the courtyard higher than the floors of the masjid and cloisters, whilst, if anything, it ought to have been made lower; but they probably found it cheaper to lay down a layer of ready-made materials which they found at hand, than to destroy a layer of the close-set Hindu construction.

Having detailed the conclusions that obviously follow from the fact of the foundations and lower double cornice of the walls being Hindu, I now proceed to trace what is not quite obvious.

Let us begin by arranging the pillars composing the outer or Iltitmish's colonnade on the original Hindu floor, as disclosed by the excavations, and noticed above. The result will be—

(1)—The block at the bottom of the bases of the pillars will come up exactly to the level of the bottom of the double cornice.*

(2).—The tops of the pillar bases when set on their blocks, which we have just put into position, will come up exactly to the level of the top of the double cornice; the cornice outside the walls, both in and out, will thus mark an important constructive feature of the colonnades.

(3).—The upper single cornice will be found to be exactly over the line of the tops of the pillar shafts. And placing on these pillar shafts the square blocks that now are seen interposed between the tier of pillars (which, as I shall subsequently show, is repeated in every case in and out, and not only in the Kutb, but in every other instance where, in Hindu construction, I have seen pillars used), we will find the upper single cornice to correspond accurately with this

* Plates IV and VI.

line of blocks; it will also be found to correspond with band B on outer south gate. The band and the upper single cornice (which last I will prove to be Hindu presently) will thus be found to mark a most curious constructive feature peculiar to Hindu architecture, for, not only from my own personal experience, but also from Fergusson's works, there will be found this same feature of pillar piled on pillar with blocks interposed. These blocks are not always plain, they are often ornamental, in some instances bracketed, but, nevertheless, essentially the same as these plain blocks over these plain pillars. In the Kutb itself are to be seen blocks of various kinds—plain, carved, square, circular, octagonal, moulded, chamfered, and sculptured in various forms, but all serving to break up the total height of a shaft into several portions. Wherever pillars exceeding five or six diameters in height have to be used, this expedient is always adopted in pure Hindu architecture. I have seen no exception to this rule, but it is possible exceptions exist.

Apart, however, from the general question, there can be no doubt that in the Kutb the Hindus did use pillars piled on each other; not only does a prominent ornamental feature in the walls and gate outside emphasize it, but it will be found to hold in the inner colonnades also; here it will be seen that band C* of east inner gate corresponds to the blocks used in the pillars inside: it will be objected that I have not yet proved that the pillars inside are as the Hindus arranged them. I admit that all the pillars are not as the Hindus left them, but I maintain, and will prove, that those under the east dome and corner domes are so†: apart, however, from this, I have other proofs. From a table formed of the measurements of the shafts, bases, blocks of the greater portion of the pillars employed in the inner inclosure, I find that the tallest shafts (which alone would be used for the lowest tier) measure from 6 feet 7 inches to 7 feet, the bases from 1

* Plate IV.

† *Note by General Cunningham.*—I dispute the accuracy of this conclusion, and I refer the reader to my description of the set of pillars in the south-east corner in vol. I., p. 178 of the Archæological Survey of India. "In the south-east corner of the cloisters of the great mosque, the pillars, with bases and capitals complete, are nearly all of one style and size, and quite different from the other columns. Now the bases, shafts and capitals of these pillars are numbered, the highest No. discovered being 19. I found 15 numbered shafts, of which *No. 13 is in the north cloister, far away from its fellows.* I found also 18 numbered bases and 7 numbered capitals; *but only in one instance*, that of No, 10, do the numbers of base, shaft and capital, *as they now stand, agree*. Here then we have a direct and convincing proof that those particular pillars have all been re-arranged."

foot 1 inch to 1 foot 7 inches, and the lower blocks on which the bases rest from 6 inches to 11 inches. We know that the floor at the east end is lower than the west by 17 inches. And arranging the pillars so that the tallest pillars have the tallest bases and blocks, we find for the aggregate height of the tallest pillars, including blocks and bases, 9 feet 6 inches, and the shortest similarly amounts to 8 feet, showing a difference of 18 inches between the two extremes; and if we therefore arrange them properly, as the floor has a fall of 17 inches, the tops of the pillars, if all properly arranged, would come to a line differing from a perfect level by only 1 inch in over 150 feet, a trivial amount of no moment; the line of blocks would therefore be at a height of 9 feet 6 inches above the lowest part of the floor, *i. e.*, of the floor at the east end, and this is precisely the height of the band C' of east gateway over the floor at the east end, and is also exactly at the same level as the band C of outer south gate, so that even if I admit (which I do not) that not a single pillar in the colonnade is now *in situ*, the bands C and C'* will still mark the heights at which the block over the inner pillars were originally placed.

But in addition to the above, I would urge that the appearance and workmanship of the blocks show that they belong to the same period as the pillars, and they could not have been made to no purpose: what other purpose but the one I have indicated could they possibly serve? The number, too, of the blocks is less than of the pillars, and of the bases and capitals still less. And if each shaft had a pillar and capital to itself, as it must have had if piling on each other had not been practised, from where are enough bases and pillars to be found to suffice; for making every allowance for loss of bases and capitals since the Muhammadans took the place, there yet will be found a great deficiency of them. Further, there are, I find from my tables, shafts varying in height from 4 feet 11 inches to 6 feet 3 inches, and how could such shafts have been put alongside each other, though they suit piling on each other very well indeed?

I think now it may safely be asserted as proved that in the original Hindu structure pillars piled on each other were used. I shall presently show reason for supposing that in the outer colonnades three pillars piled on each other had been used.

* Plates IV and V.

I must, however, first prove that the domes over the east entrance and over the corners are Hindu.

Examining the domes from inside, it will be noticed that they are black with layers of soot; that in places where the soot has got detached the colour of the stone is red: it will further be noticed, especially in the corner domes, that at one period the Muhammdans had covered it up with plaster and whitewash; that this whitewash or plaster is in many places still white, or, at least, a dirty white, while in many other places it is sooty and black. But it will be found on careful examination that wherever it is black, the colour is due, not to a deposit of soot on its surface, but its becoming permeated throughout its substance by soot, due evidently to the leakage of water, which, having first to pass through the layer of soot between the stone and the Muhammadan whitewash, had become charged with soot, and having, on contact with the whitewash, been soaked into it, had communicated the sooty colour to the entire substance of the whitewash. Where such leaks do not exist, the whitewash is dirty by age, but not by soot.

Proceeding now to the dome over the north entrance, it will be noticed that it is smaller than the others; that it is entirely free from soot; and, further, that the curvature of the stones is less than it should be for a dome of its small size, so that the dome, instead of being a circle, is a polygon of a number of curved sides; the joints between the segments of each overlapping course is such that the stones touch each other only at the inner edges; this must necessarily happen when stones composing a large circle are made to form a small one. Knowing that Hindu workmen cut their joints accurately and made their curves correct, as shown in the instances of the other domes in the Kutb, and knowing, too, from the appearance and workmanship of the stones composing this northern dome that they are Hindu, it cannot but follow that these stones belonged to a dome of larger dimensions; indeed, we might reason on *à priori* grounds that if the Muhammadans threw down the Hindu structures, the stones composing the domes must, some of them, infallibly get broken in each dome; and admitting the purport of their inscription over the east gate to be true, we should expect to see all the existing domes smaller than they ought to be from the curvature of the stones: the bare fact of the other domes being of the correct size is in itself

no weak argument in favor of the supposition that they never were thrown down by the Muhammadans; and taken in conjunction with the arguments detailed in the last paragraph, it is simply unanswerable. But the north dome differs so materially in construction from the others, and not that only, but in external form likewise, being more of the correct shape of a dome externally, instead of being simply cones, as the others are, that we will not be wrong in ascribing its construction to the Muhammadans, who, from history we learn, were the only people who had anything to do with making alterations in the Kutb; and this is most strongly confirmed by the results of excavation at this gate, which, as mentioned before disclosed only Muhammadan alterations, showing that here, more than anywhere else, the Muhammadan destructive faculties had been allowed full play.

Adverting now to the soot just noticed, I will remark that we know that Hindus use lamps and fire in worship; we know too that Muhammadans do not; and we know further that the Muhammadans did plaster and whitewash all Hindu sculptures; and we see that in the only instance in which the dome can undeniably be ascribed to Muhammadans, it is perfectly clear of soot; it follows then, as a matter of course, that the layer of soot in the other domes is due to the Hindus, the layer of whitewash to the Muhammadans, and that the domes as they stand are precisely as the Hindus left them. Every chain of reasoning bearing on this point points to the same conclusion, that the east and the existing corner domes have not been altered by the Muhammadans internally.*

The outer forms of the east and corner domes are in section, not circular or segmental; the domes† on the outside are simple cones with the apex rubbed away, as it were, to an obtuse point, and having the slightest possible bulge in the middle (about five or seven inches only). The forms are correctly rendered in the sections. Plate indeed, is a form necessitated almost by the construction, but where the Muhammadans have used Hindu materials to construct a dome of

* *Note by General Cunningham.*—I cannot endorse this argument, for the Muhammadans use lights in their mosques for the reading of the Koran; and during the three centuries which have passed away since this mosque was used, thousands of people may have cooked their food in the corner rooms of this enclosure. One month's cooking by the Mahratta soldiers would have blackened the roofs with soot as deeply as we now see them.

† Plates IV and V.

the same construction, they could not avoid their favorite form; and the north dome, as already noticed, is not a cone, but a figure formed by the revolution of a gothic arch around its versed sine.

It is possible that the outside of the Hindu domes were originally broken up into steps, as is usual in temples of what Fergusson calls the Dravidian style (I shall not now discuss the appropriateness or otherwise of the name he has bestowed, but use it as the simplest way of expressing what I mean), and that the smooth coat of plaster we now see is a Muhammadan addition; but this point cannot definitively be settled without stripping the plaster off some portion of the domes.

I now revert to the outer colonnades.

It has already been determined that the lower double cornice is Hindu; the upper single cornice, and the wall between it and the lower double cornice, as also the wall over the outer single cornice, right up to the roof vertically, is so precisely similar to the work below the Hindu double cornice, in material, in size of stones, in mode of setting, in weathering, and, indeed, in the minutest particulars, and so totally different to the work executed by the Muhammadans, that we cannot but allow the entire of the existing outer wall on the south side of Iltitmish's extension, up to a point where Alauddin's work begins (and which is markedly different in workmanship, both of stone and of setting, and in construction, and in every other particular, save material), to be original Hindu, hence the openings in the wall, or the windows of overlapping stones are also Hindu; a conclusion which their construction and workmanship are of themselves sufficient to testify.

But in addition to this, we see, on examining the inner east gateway, which I have already proved to be original Hindu, that though the façade outside is an arch of overlapping stones;* this is soon abandoned for the corbel and architrave construction. Proceeding now to examine the remains of the outer south gateway, which is also original Hindu, we see indubitable traces of a similar construction† having been there used, and this is precisely the construction used in the windows of overlapping stones,* in the outer south wall. This is a very remarkable feature in Hindu construction, suggesting that at the time they had

* Plate IV. † Plate VI.

not acquired confidence in the arch of overlapping stones, and though for beauty of façade they used it, they returned as soon as possible to the favourite corbel and architrave pattern. It appears also from this that the Hindus were in those days in the habit of using, when they thought desirable, arches of the gothic or lancet pattern, formed, however, entirely of overlapping stones.

The entire height of the outer south wall, as just noticed, is Hindu. On the top runs a single cornice of Hindu form, marking the present level of roof; but, as I have shown before, the present floor on which the pillars supporting the present roof stand, is higher than the original Hindu floor, as shown by excavations; consequently the pillars, and with them the roof they support, cannot be a Hindu, but a Muhammadan arrangement, and the original Hindu colonnade here (and I will prove that a colonnade did exist in the Hindu period) must have been destroyed before rebuilding the present one, as the corbelled capitals of the pilasters are imbedded in the masonry of the back wall; the destruction of the colonnade necessarily involved the destruction of the wall above the line of corbelled capitals, the present cornice therefore marking the line of roof is not a Hindu, but a Muhammadan arrangement.

Anticipating now a law which I will show subsequently as governing the spacing of the bands throughout such portions of the Kutb as are original Hindu, *viz.*, that they are in a series of geometrical progression, and using the same multiplier ·85, and applying that law to the pillars, we shall find that multiplying the height of the top of shaft of the lowest or first tier of pillars in outer colonnade from the floor by this ·85 we get the height of shaft of second tier of pillars. Placing this second tier of pillars on the blocks over the first tier (see my previous description), we shall find the top of this second tier of pillars to come almost exactly to the bottom of the level of band C,* *i. e.*, in figures multiplying 7′ 3″, the distance of first row of blocks from floor, by ·85, we get 6′ 2″, the height of the second tier of pillars: this placed on the first row of blocks comes exactly almost to bottom of band C, and the line of blocks over this tier of pillars will therefore correspond, and be in a line with band C. Now multiplying the row distance of second blocks from the first, *i. e.*, 6′ 2″ by ·83, we get distance of third row of blocks

* Plate VI.

from the second, or the height of the third row of pillars 5′ 3″; this added on the top of the second tier of blocks over the second tier of pillars, and on this, adding further the bracket capital, we shall find that it will come almost exactly to the bottom of band D; the architrave therefore over the bracket capital would be correctly represented by the band D.* Turning now to the east inner gateway, we find that its corresponding band D correctly represents the line of architraves over the pillars there, and of the springing of the east dome. The architrave is a very important constructive feature, and bearing in mind the analogy with the inner east gateway, and the fact that the other constructive features in the outer colonnades, as above detailed, are represented unfailingly and correctly by the various ornamental features, band and cornices in the wall, we cannot doubt that the band D represents the architrave line of the outer colonnades, and the springing of the dome, which, from analogy with east inner gateway, we infer must once have existed at the outer south gate. By adhering strictly to the law of spacing as obtained from the existing Hindu remains in the Kutb, it is seen, as just shown, that three tiers of pillars piled on each other brings the architrave to the exact position that it ought (judging from existing examples) to occupy; therefore it follows that, not indeed certainly, but with a degree of probability that differs from certainty only, in so far as necessarily and unavoidably appertains to questions of this nature, we may assert that three tiers of pillars piled on each other according to the Hindu law of spacing (*i. e.*), in geometrical series, composed the height of the outer colonnades.

If, however, we do not allow three tiers of pillars, we shall find a most important architectural feature emphasised elsewhere by an ornamental feature corresponding to the band D of south gateway to be totally unrepresented, and the band D left to perform no function whatever: a state of things that the Hindu architect of the Kutb could never for an instant have tolerated, if we may judge by the immense amount of careful thought he has bestowed, as we shall presently see, in the designing and distribution of every ornamental feature in the Masjid Minar.

The outer face of the wall of the inner inclosure has also a double cornice† at the same level as the double cornice on the outer face of the outer walls; as this double

* Plate V. † Plate IV.

cornice can represent nothing within the inner inclosure, the floor of which is considerably higher than the line of cornice, it must have been placed on the outer face to represent some feature outside; the existence of a colonnade along the outer wall would furnish the necessary reason for the existence of this cornice to emphasise and, as it were, carry through the line of pillar bases with which it would accurately correspond.

The outer wall, too, pierced at intervals by windows, points to the existence of a colonnade along it; in the Hindu period these openings serving to light it, and being not merely ornamental, but absolutely necessary.

It now remains to ascertain the probable depth of the colonnade. As the space between the south and north inner and outer walls is greater than the space between the east inner and outer walls, it is clear that the colonnades along the two former walls could not have been of the same depth as that along the east wall, consistently with harmony; and as throughout the entire structure a most beautiful harmony exists, the arrangement of the outer colonnades too would probably have been such as to preserve and not violate it. Therefore the depth of the colonnade along the south and north outer walls must have been greater than along the east outer wall.

As the Muhammadans, when re-constructing the colonnade, used the Hindu materials, it is clear that the distance apart of the pillars could not have been greater than would be spanned by the long architraves, nor less than would suit the small architraves.

But as architraves of different lengths exist, one set being longer than the other, it is evident that the pillars were not equally spaced, whether lengthways or sideways, or both.

The long architraves will be found to be just of such length as to span the opening of the outer south gate if it were contracted by two pillars projecting from either flank; the smaller lot is just sufficient to span the distance between the pillars as they are now arranged in Iltitmish's extension.

Describing an octagon,* with the span of the outer south gate reduced, as just mentioned, for its side, and one side resting just within the inner face of the gate, in exactly the position that it would occupy if we supposed a dome to have existed just

* Plate VI.

within the outer south gate, it will be found that two of the angles of the octagon will come to exactly the line of the present first row of pillars from the wall, so that the architraves (the smaller lot) would just be of the proper size to go from the line of pillars extending sideways parallel to the wall from these two corners of the octagon to the pilasters which must have abutted against the wall. The second set of corners will fall beyond the present outermost line of pillars, but in such a position that the long architraves (which, where now used, project beyond the centre of the pillars on which they rest) would correctly span the distance, being the entire side of the octagon, equal to the span of the gate, diminished by the projecting pillars. This distance will necessarily be greater than the distance perpendicularly from the wall to the first two corners of the octagon, and consequently to the first longitudinal row of pillars.

The third row of pillars would then come under the outermost side of the octagon, and would be at the same distance from the second row as the first row would be from the line of wall, and we shall find that making this arrangement, the third line of pillars will just fall within and almost touch the plinth of the Minar.

Distributing now along the east outer wall pillars at the same distances from the wall, and from each other, as in the last paragraph for the south wall (and, therefore, for the north wall, which is symmetrically disposed), we shall find that the second row of pillars from the wall will just touch the Minar as the third row in the other instance did. Further, we shall find that now the open space between the foremost line of pillars in south colonnade as just arranged, and the face of the south inner inclosure wall, bear precisely the same proportion to the space between the face of the east inner wall and the row of pillars on this side touching the Minar, that the total space between the inner and outer walls on the south bears to the total space between the inner and outer walls on the east.

By this means not only is perfect harmony preserved, but the great Minar, which I shall on perfectly independent grounds show to be Hindu, is proved to occupy not a random position, amenable to no law (which it does in regard to the present distribution of things), but a definite position, fixed by a beautiful law of harmony, which pervades the whole.

An examination of the fragment of west wall of the Kutb Masjid (not Iltitmish's extension) now existing will show clearly that it is original Hindu. I am weary of enumerating over and over the characteristics that indisputably prove it Hindu; let those who doubt go and judge for themselves: so also is a fragment (a very small fragment) of the inner south wall on the west side of the now ruined inner south gateway; these fragments show that the original Hindu inner was pierced with openings on the west, certainly by two tiers of windows, not disposed, however, vertically over each other; but whether by two tiers, or one tier of windows in the three other sides, I have not means of judging. Of the west windows, I shall for distinction call the upper the second tier, and the lower, the first tier of windows of inner inclosure.

From the section of the west wall, it will be seen that the top of the second tier of windows* is exactly at the level of the bottom of architraves over the pillars of inner inclosure, and that the continuous ornamental band that goes just over it on the outside marks the architraves inside; this ornamental band which, so far as we can judge from the existing fragment, was continuous, corresponds to the band D at the gate, in fact is replaced at the gate by the band D, which, as before noticed, marks the architraves, level and spring of domes also: this ornamental band, or rather a similar one, analogy points, must once have existed on the outer face of the wall of outer inclosure also, replaced similarly at the gate by the band D, which there performs the same function that band D does in the inner gateway; as the Muhammadans, however, have arranged the outer colonnades, the roof line falls actually below the band D, so there is no possibility of our seeing this ornamental band on the outer walls now.

The bottom sill of the second tier of windows will be seen to be at the same level as the top of the first tier of windows, and also at the same level as the springing of arch of east gateway; further, the bottom of the first tier of windows will be found to be on the same level as the architraves over the corbels of the windows in the outer colonnade, where the outer lancet shape is discarded for the square bracket and architrave opening, so that the entire series of windows in and out, which are certainly Hindu, have a sort of harmony between themselves that we look for in vain in

* Plate III.

the windows made by the Muhammadans in the walls they have erected round the inclosure, or indeed anywhere else.

Over the first tier of windows are mouldings and a bold cave, which are not carried through, but stop at the window itself: at the bottom of the window is an ornamental moulding over the great sculptured band of ornament and figures, that runs completely round the inner inclosure.

The pillars* at the west end of the Masjid are finer than anywhere else in the building; but even there the line of blocks represented by the band C′ of inner gateway is not omitted, although the height of the pillars are well broken up by many other mouldings besides.

In the dome† over the east entrance, will be seen brackets projecting into the interior of the dome, as shown in the section of it. These brackets serve no useful or ornamental purpose now, but, from examples I have seen elsewhere, I see that these brackets must originally have supported figures running up, and, as it were, supporting the top circle of the roof, and I am of opinion that the brackets themselves were apparently originally supported by other figures springing from a lower course, either the capitals of the pillars or the lowest ring of the dome itself; the effect as may be seen in existing Hindu temples elsewhere is extremely pleasing. In the small dome at north gate, these brackets do not exist, for the best of reasons; the Muhammadans had no use for them, and it is a strong argument in favor of the east dome being Hindu that there brackets stand, for had the Muhammadans broken and rebuilt it, they would never have inserted these, which were only used to support human or other ornamental figures,—their abomination. As it is, it is evident that the Muhammadans simply contented themselves by knocking off the figures, allowing the dome with its brackets to stand uninjured. The singularity of these projecting brackets serving no apparent purpose, long puzzled me till the puzzle was solved by my seeing them with their supporting and supported figures in the roof of the great central hall of the Udipur temple, which for beauty is unsurpassed even by the magnificent ceilings of the Khajurâho temples.

If we measure the distance between the bands D and C of outer south gateway,‡ and multiply it by ·85, we will get a

* Plate III. † Plate V. ‡ Plate IV.

distance equal to the distance between bands C and B. Repeating the process on this, the distance between bands A and B will be obtained, this distance is equal to the distance between bands C′ and D′ of east inner gateway.* Repeating the operation on this distance, we get the distance B′ to C′; and repeating the operation on this again, the distance between bands A′ and B′ will be obtained.

These distances are therefore all in a series of geometrical progression, and I will subsequently show that the geometrical series is applied on a most extensive scale to the spacing of the bands in the Kutb Minar; but if we attempt to apply the law to the spacing of the bands in the north gateway, we will find it no longer holds a sufficient proof that the builders of this gate did not understand the harmony that existed in the distribution of the various ornamental features in the Kutb, as constructed originally. Similarly, if we examine the disposition of the tiers of pillars, both in and out, that are not original Hindu, as proved in the preceding portions of this report, we will find that neither in the arrangement of the pillars is the law observed. This great law, the law of geometrical progression, governs the distribution of almost every ornamental feature and every constructive peculiarity in the Kutb as it existed in the Hindu period.

Only two gates of undoubtedly Hindu origin now exist, and it is therefore not possible to find whether the spans of the gates were also in a series of geometrical progression; but what is very remarkable is, that between the horizontal dimensions of the gates and parts making it up, there is a beautiful law of proportion.

It will be found that as the minimum span of outer south gate† is to the minimum span of inner east gate, so is inversely the depth (through) of outer south gate to the depth (through) of inner east gate, or in numbers, as 13·75 : 8·75 so is *inversely* 13·75 : 20·25, the first two numbers being the spans and the latter two the depths through of the gates. Further, the law not merely holds for the entire depth, but also for the depths of the various similar features, thus as 13·75 : 8·75 the spans so *inversely* is the depth of the overlapping arch over outer south gate, as still distinctly visible, to the depth of the overlapping arch over east gateway, and

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* Plate V. † Plates V, VI, VII.

I am of opinion that the proportions of the Hindu north and south inner gates were governed by the same law, and were in regular proportion to each other, and to the existing gates which have just shown they obey this beautiful law.

I now close the subject of the Masjid or Thâkurdwara as it is called by Hindus. I have shown the intimate connexion between the various parts, and the beautiful law that governs them. The more the subject is carefully examined, the greater is the harmony perceived between the parts. I have shown in a manner that cannot be shaken by any number of lying inscriptions, that this great beautiful structure is essentially Hindu in design, altered to a greater or lesser extent by the Muhammadan conquerors, who could perceive neither the beauty of the whole, nor the harmony of the parts, but deliberately did their best to hide the signs of the Hindu origin of the structure by building in, covering up whitewashing and plastering, destroying parts and building them up according to their own crude and barbarous notions and crowned the whole by inserting in the true style of oriental exaggeration in their inscription, that they built the structure!

It remains only to add a suggestion that the unsightly layer of irregular stones that cover up the courtyard be removed; it will then be possible to state definitely whether or not a central grand temple existed. From examples elsewhere, I am sanguine that traces of a central shrine will be found on careful examination.

I will now give a few quotations that bear on the subject.*

"This temple splendid by reason of its complement on open chapels around, whose structure is embellished with eggs of gold, delightful for the sweet yellow flowers appended to it, formed into garlands for morning offerings, a temple vying in loftiness with the peak of Meru itself, adorned with a door and sacred porch on which is finely wrought an effigy of the Bull of Siva, distinguished, moreover, as the frequent resort of various celestial songsters, surpasses all others."

"*Vers. XXXVIII.*—By whom also in front of what was already dedicated, a *third ground floor* including a hall for self-torturing exercises, and extending as far as the place for distributing water, was splendidly covered with well compacted stones."

* Journal, Asiatic Society, Vol. IV, p. 286 *et seq.*, from an inscription at Shekawat —(vers. 12) 11th line.

"*Vers. XLIV.*—By whom was built this soul-ravishing house of Sankara, with its chapels, its fine portico, graced with the presence of Gaya, the holy Asura."

From this inscription we see that open chapels surrounding the great temple was no uncommon mode of construction, and is expressly said to have been adopted in the temple of Shekawati, the pillars of which closely resemble those in the Kutb. What the expression 'open chapels' means it is difficult to define accurately, but it evidently means a structure supported on pillars; whether the chapels were continuous like a colonnade or detached is not easy to determine. It also mentions a porch over the entrance, being a feature exactly like what the Kutb gates must, I have shown, possessed. On reference to Fergusson's works, it will be seen that temples with immense colonnades surrounding them, was no uncommon mode of construction in the south of India. As the Kutb evidently consisted of a colonnade, or of open chapels round the inclosure walls, it is reasonable to expect that, like the example at Shekawati, it should also have possessed a great central temple.

Ibn Batuta says, in regard to the Masjid Kutb ul Islam:—

"Before the taking of Delhi it had been a Hindu temple, "which the Hindus call Elbutkhana, but after that event "it was used as a mosque."

The inscription over the east gate records the destruction of 27 Hindu temples to build the mosque, which there refers only to the inner inclosure, for the outer one was afterwards built or converted into a mosque by Iltitmish.

It is hardly necessary to do more than to ask how were the materials of 27 Hindu temples used in the construction of the mosque, when this single temple would have furnished materials to have built Kutb's mosque twice over. The 27 Hindu temples, however, may mean 27 different chapels in the great temple, and this is by no means improbable, for it is quite large enough to have contained 27 chapels besides the great temple, if it had one in the middle.

I now turn to the Kutb Minar.* What most strikes the beholder is its gigantic proportions. It is built within 11 feet of the present Iltitmish's colonnade, along the outer south wall of outer inclosure. It is generally assumed to have been begun by Kutbuddin, and added to by his successors.

* Plate VII.

It has been shown already that the walls, both outer and inner, of the Masjids of Kutb and Iltitmish are Hindu, that the corner dome also is Hindu, and that consequently, if the Minar was constructed by the Muhammadans, its foundations were laid long after that of the walls of the temple, the present Masjid: that such a gigantic structure could be built within a few feet of previously existing structures by the barbarous Muhammadans, at a time when constructive engineering skill was far inferior to what it now is, and modern engineering appliances were unknown, without producing the most disastrous effects on these walls, appeared to me little short of incredible.* But this was not all. The pillar is supposed to have been built up to first storey alone by Kutb, and the rest added subsequently by Iltitmish and his successors. Iltitmish also built the cloisters within 11 feet of the visible base of the Minar, and yet, although immense weight was added to the original portion built by Kutb, the floor of Iltitmish's cloisters in its immediate vicinity is not appreciably distorted.

To me, this objection to its having been built by the Muhammadans appeared insurmountable, but to be consistent, I cannot admit that it was built at any time subsequent to the building of the temple; it must have either existed before, or been built simultaneously with, the temple.

The iron pillar proves that when its characters were engraved the temple existed; for the pillar must have been made to set up on the existing floor, and not the enormous floor built to set the iron pillar on. Therefore the Minar must date to a period anterior to this.

The position of the Minar is outside of Kutb's mosque, and General Cunningham contends† that it was the custom then to build Mazinahs (which he supposes‡ the Minar to have been) originally outside the Masjids and independent of them. Without entering into a discussion on this point, I will simply note that it is built in a position quite away from the Masjid, not symmetrically placed in regard to it, and indeed, as regards its connection with Kutb Masjid alone, it

* *Note by General Cunningham.*—No one has ever supposed that the Minar was actually built by the Muhammadans. They employed Hindu masons as a matter of necessity.

† *Note by General Cunningham.*—I do not *contend* that it was the custom. I have *proved* it by the two examples at Ghazni, and the single example at Koïl.

‡ *Note by General Cunningham.*—I do not *suppose* that the Kutb Minar was a Mazinah I *know* that it was so called by Abulfeda. The Kutb Minar besides occupies *exactly* the same relative position to the Kutb Masjid which the Koïl Minar did to the Koïl Masjid.

may have been placed anywhere else without making its position a whit more difficult to account for than it now is. It is hard to suppose that barbarous, though the Muhammadans were, they would, in fixing the position of a structure so grand and unique, and withal so *expensive*, have not given more thought to it than they would, have to the raising of a dirt pie; or why, if they selected the place after deliberation, did they select the site it stands on, which neither in direction nor distance has any conceivable dependence on the Masjid to which it served as a pendant.

No one contends that the Minar was founded by Iltitmish, though, if they did, there would be some sense in his placing it facing the centre arch of one wing of his extension; but although roughly it faces the centre arch, it is by no means accurately in the centre, and the quantity by which it is out of the centre position is not a few inches, which would have been allowable, or due to error in setting out, but about 3 feet, and therefore neither on the supposition of Kutb nor of Iltitmish being its founders can its peculiar and eccentric position be accounted for.

But supposing it to be a Hindu structure, how easily its position is accounted for! *Vide* previous description.

Colonel Sleeman's argument that the slope of the Kutb Minar is a peculiar characteristic of Pathan buildings, and that the arches of the great mosque close to it all correspond in design, proprotion, and execution to the tower is palpably erroneous; for not only is the great slope of the Minar emphatically not a characteristic of the Pathan architecture of that period, or even of subsequent periods up to Toglin's reign, but the walls of the very arches, which he says correspond with it in design, proportion and execution, have not a particle of slope all the way up; and what proportion is there between the 1st storey of the Kutb Minar, which alone, be it remembered, was built by Kutb, and Kutb's arches? In fact, what proportion or possible connection is there at all between the Kutb Minar and any Muhammadan * structure whatever, or in the Kutb inclosures, when the builders did not understand how to proportion the large and small arches of

* *Note by General Cunningham.*—I have already answered this question by a reference to the kindred towers at Ghazni and Koïl, all of which are known to have been *Mázinahs.* Such a building had a special use in the daily performance of the Muhammadan religion. I may now ask Mr. Beglar, what possible connexion there is between the Minar and any *Hindu* building whatever. Did the Hindus ever build another structure like it, either before or after the Muhammadan conquest? And lastly, what was the purpose which the tower was designed to serve amongst the Hindus?

their Masjid, as is to be seen in the existing front wall of Kutb Masjid, noble though it is from sheer greatness of size? How could they possibly conceive even the idea of proportioning the mazinah to the arches of the Masjid? No doubt the execution is similar in both arches and Minar. But why? Because the arches were built, the mechanical part of the work there was done by Hindu work men, probably descendants of the very men who previously built the Minar, for in India professions and trades are hereditary.

The Minar or Lat is a tapering shaft ornamented at intervals by bands and balconies. An outline section is given in Plate V.

It will be noticed on examining the Minar that the first three storeys and a portion and the fourth are cased with red sandstone on the exterior, and higher up with marble and sandstone in irregular widths.

That the style of ornamentation used in the first three storeys, whether we take the bands, the balconies, or the flutings of the shaft itself, is widely different to the style of ornamentation of the other two existing storeys; this difference is so great, so utterly irreconcileable, that, in the absence of every other argument in favour of the supposition, it alone would justify a belief that the three lower storeys belong to a period widely distant from the date of the two upper.

But the difference between them is not confined to the exterior or the ornamentation above; the internal construction presents a difference still more radical; this difference is, that whereas in the lower three storeys the openings for light are constructed on the same principle as the windows in the outer south wall of the Kutb inclosure, *i. e.*, by an arch of overlapping stones, extending a part of the way into the body of the wall, to be replaced by the bracket and architrave construction, in the upper two storeys this construction is not used, the change is not even gradual, it is abrupt and decisive. Further, the steps that wind round the interior are up to a portion of the fourth storey supported invariably by the usual Hindu brackets, identical in every particular with the brackets used in the temple or Masjid as it is now called, whereas higher up no brackets are used. This change is likewise abrupt and decisive. Again, further, the central shaft round which the steps wind is sloping all the way up from the base to the top of the third storey, and a little way beyond,—in short, exactly to the point corresponding

to the termination of the bracketed steps, whilst up above for the remainder of the fourth storey the central shaft does not taper at all, and though the shaft again tapers in the fifth, that does not in any way affect the argument. The three changes in the internal construction all occur at the same point, and are all equally abrupt and decisive.

But to add to the difference in construction in the interior, the material used also changes at that very point, all below being constructed internally of granite, all above of sandstone. Further, my examination has failed to show any mortar between the joints of the stones in the first three storeys, except a little at and near the lowest door, which having a true arch may well be considered to be a late construction, and at the other doors no instance of the true arch is seen in the structures of either Kutbuddin or Iltitmish, and the occurrence of the true arch therefore stamps the portions as later alterations; therefore, as the question of the foundation of the Minar lies between Kutb, or possibly Iltitmish and the Hindus, the occurrence of these arches in no way affects the question. But to revert; although no mortar is apparently used in the joints in the first three storeys, which are internally built of granite, mortar joints are invariably the rule in the two higher storeys,

Inscriptions are more frequent in the harder material of the three lower storeys than in the softer material of the two upper, which is curious.

Returning to the outside, and examining with a powerful telescope the ornamental bands of the exterior, it will be found that there is great difference in the appearance of the weathering of the stones, which are carved with bells and lotuses, and triangle patterns, and of the Arabic inscriptions. This difference is quite as great as the difference in weathering between the Arabic inscriptions and the restorations carried out not half a century ago by the British, which last can by this means be detected with certainty.

But the difference between the bands of lotus and triangles and the bands of Arabic is not confined to the external weathering alone; the construction too is radically different, for whereas the lotus and triangles are carved on the exposed edge of a stone of the proper thickness exactly for the purpose, which stone is built into the structure with its longest dimension or bed, horizontal, as it ought to be in all good and genuine work, the stones on which the

Arabic is cut are set with their longest dimensions vertical, forming only a sort of veneer on the outside; and not this alone, but the stones are not all of a size; and, further, they are in some places so thin, that in cutting out or countersinking the Arabic inscriptions, the entire thickness of the stone has been cut through.

It is clear therefore that the original design provided for the bands of lotus, bells and triangles, but not for the deep-cut Arabic inscriptions. My opinion is, and it is only an opinion, unsupported by any facts, that where these Arabic inscriptions exist, there originally existed bold projecting bands of sculpture, and that, in cutting away the Hindu sculpture, the Muhammadans so reduced the stone in thickness as to present the characters it now does. When I first examined the Minar, I had not seen the way bands of statues are executed by the Hindus. I now know how it is done, having seen the magnificent examples at Khajurâho, and remembering the fact that some of the stones in the Arabic band are set with their long dimensions horizontal (although I did not then think it worth while noting their positions, nor, if I had, could I have ascertained all the stones in any single band which are laid horizontally). I am inclined rather to think that the band of sculpture consisted of detached statues, or of detached but boldly projecting tablets carved with geometrical patterns, or even plain, as at the temples of Khajurâho, Mahoba or Garhwa.

The difference, however, goes a step more. Whereas the bell, lotus and triangle bands project boldly beyond the face of the Minar, the Arabic inscriptions do not project beyond the general level of the adjacent parts. The letters are indeed in high relief, but this relief is obtained by countersinking the ground of the inscriptions, and the projecting faces of the relief letters do not, in a single instance, project beyond the level or surface of the adjacent parts. In this way relief sculpture could be executed even at the present day on any part of the Minar.

It will be seen from the preceding paragraphs that between the three lower and the two upper storeys there are marked differences of style, of construction, and of material. The three lower storeys correspond with each other in every respect, but are very different to the two upper, and this external difference may be seen in any photograph of the

Minar, or on the actual Minar, by looking at it from a distance, sufficient to give at once a view of all the storeys.

I now proceed to detail the intimate connexion that exists between the Minar and the temple as it stood in the Hindu period.

Referring back now to my previous description and arranging the pillar bases* on the original Hindu floor, as disclosed from the excavations, it will be seen that the top of base of Minar, from which the shaft proper springs, is exactly at the same level as the steps of the bases of the pillars in the outer colonnade, from which the pillar shafts spring; these last again are exactly at the level of the top of the Hindu double cornice inside and out, whereas the level of the Minar plinth corresponds with nothing in the present or Iltitmish's arrangement in his Masjid, or with anything in Kutb's Masjid.

In reference to the position of the Minar or its harmony with the Hindu arrangement of the temple and colonnades, I refer back to what I have previously said on this subject.

Now, taking the distance from band A of outer south gate to top of band D, or the highest band,† and applying it to the Minar, it will be found that it is exactly equal to the distance from the top of the first band in the Minar to the plinth. This may, indeed, be seen in my plate.

Further, the distance between the first and second bands of the Minar‡ will be found to be equal to the distance between the lowest and highest bands of east inner gateway.

I have no doubt that had we the original Hindu north and south inner gates, we should have similarly found the distances between their top and bottom bands to correspond to the remaining two spaces between the remaining bands of the Minar. The bands of the present north inner gateway, as already remarked, do not obey the law of geometrical progression, which the Hindu bands, pillars (and the Minar itself, as will be seen) obey, and it has on other grounds been previously inferred to be a Muhammadan structure: the space between its top and bottom bands does not also agree with any of the two remaining spaces in the Minar.

It has before been shown that the spaces between the bands in the gates are in geometrical series. I will now show that the spaces between the bands in the Minar are also in geometrical series.

* Plate VI. † Plate IV. ‡ Plates IV and V.

The following is a geometrical **series**, the last number being the width of the bands in the **first** storey of the **Minar** :—

(1). 16'4"	14'9"	13'5"
12'1"	10'11"	9'11"
9'0"	8'1"	7'4"
6'8"	6'0'	5'5"

1. Its application to the Minar is thus—

Actual distance of first band from plinth	16·4
Actual distance of second band from first ...	14'11"
Actual distance of third band from second ...	13'11"

and so on.

For clearness, it will be better to arrange the entire actual distances and theoretical distances, as deduced from the law of geometrical series, side by side, all the distances being reckoned from the plinth of the Minar to do this. As between the spaces are bands 5' 5" wide, it will be necessary to add this width, or as many of them as may be, to the terms of the series. Column 1 indicates the process by which the theoretical distance is obtained.

Process.	Theoretical distance.	Actual distance.
1st band bottom 16' 4"	16' 4"	16' 4"
" top 16' 4"+5' 5"	21' 9"	21' 9"
2nd band bottom 16' 4"+5' 5"+14' 9"	36' 6"	36' 8"
" top 16' 4"+5' 5'+14' 9"+5' 5"	41' 11"	42' 1"
3rd band bottom 16' 4"+5' 5'+14' 9"+5' 5"+13' 5"	55' 4"	56' 0"
" top 16' 4"+5' 5"+14' 9"+5' 5"+13' 5"+5' 5"	60' 9"	61' 5"
4th band bottom 16' 4"+5' 5"+14' 9"+5' 5"+13' 5"+5' 5"+12' 1"	72' 10"	73' 0"
" top 16' 4"+5' 5"+14' 9"+5' 5"+13' 5"+5' 5"+12' 1+5' 5"	78' 3"	78' 11"
Top of *1st* storey 16' 4"+5' 5"+14' 9"+5' 5"+13' 5"+5' 5"+12' 1"+5' 5" +10' 11"+5' 5"	94' 7"	94' 8"
Top of *2nd* storey 16' 4"+5' 5"+14' 9"+5' 5"+13' 5"+5' 5"+12' 1"+5' 5" +10' 11"+5' 5"+9' 11"+5' 5"+9' 0"+5' 5"+8' 1"+5' 5"+7' 4"	145' 2"	145' 2"
Top of *3rd* storey similarly	184' 11"	186' 0"

The entire series of numbers, obtained by supposing the

spaces and bands following each other right to the end of the last term of series I, is as follows :—

16′ 4″	21′ 9″	36′ 6″
41′ 11″	55′ 4″	60′ 9″
72′ 10″	78′ 3″	89′ 2″
94′ 7″	104′ 6″	109′ 11″
118′ 11″	124′ 4″	135′ 2″
137′ 10″	145′ 2″	150′ 7″
157′ 3″	162′ 8″	168′ 8″
174′ 1″	179′ 6″	184′ 11″

which may be called series II.

Of these numbers, each of the series up to 94′ 7″ is to be found in the first storey in the distances of the tops and bottoms of bands, the commencement of the projecting balcony and the top of the first storey. In the second storey however each of the numbers from 94′ 7″ onwards is not to be found, but the top of the second storey corresponds with one of the series, 145′ 2″, and so also in the third storey.

The reason of this is very simple. As the series goes on, the width of the spaces according to it gradually diminishes, till at the last term the width of the space becomes exactly equal to the width of the band, but as to preserve beauty, the spaces and bands must not be equal or nearly equal, it became necessary after a certain point to alter the relative widths of the bands and spaces. This has been done in the second and third storeys, but in so masterly a manner that at the most prominent points, *i. e.*, the terminations of each storey, the term of the original series is preserved unaltered. The process by which this is done is this : the third space of the first Minar, or the third number of the original series, given above, is taken as the starting number in the second storey, and the width of band is reduced in proportion, thus as 16′ 4″, the starting space of first storey, is to 13′ 5″, the starting space of second storey, so is 5′ 5″, the width of the band of first storey to 4′ 5″, the width of band of second storey. The series then proceeds precisely as in first Minar, and so ingeniously is the great primitive series chosen, and so ingeniously the second series adapted to it, that by the time the top of the second storey is reached, the numbers obtained from both series fall on almost the same spot. The following will shew this clearly. The initial starting point of the second series being 94′ 8″ above the plinth of Minar, to which for convenience I refer all the distances. and

remembering that the width of band is now 4' 5", and the first term of the series 13' 5", we get the numbers which will be called series III.

94' 8" starting point, or bottom of second storey.
108' 1"
112' 6"
124' 7"
129' 0"
139' 11"
144' 4"

at which point there is a very slight difference only, with the corresponding number of the former given series II above, namely 145' 2". The actual distances of the bands as measured is here placed side by side with the terms of the series III above, for comparison.

	Actual.	Theoretical.
Bottom of 1st band	107' 11"	108' 1"
Top " "	112' 11"	112' 6"
Bottom of 2nd band	123' 3"	124' 7"
Top of 2nd band	127' 7"	129' 0"
Bottom of balcony	Not measured.	139' 11"
Top of balcony and of Minar 2nd storey...	145' 2"	144' 4"

In a manner precisely similar, the bands of the third storey are arranged. In this storey the initial starting space is the fourth term in series I, given above, or the space between the third and fourth bands of the first storey of the Minar, and the width of the bands of the third storey is made proportional to this reduced initial starting space, precisely as the width of band in second storey was reduced to suit its initial starting space. The details of finding the theoretical series for this storey are precisely the same as just explained for the second and the agreement of theoretical and actual distances is even more close than in second storey.

On reaching the top of the third storey, we find we have used up all the terms of series I before noted, and as far as I have been able to judge, no law applies to the bands, &c., of the fourth storey; and of the fifth the inference is obvious, that these two are not Hindu, but Muhammadan.

The great law therefore, as we have seen, extends throughout the three lowest storeys of the Minar. This law may briefly

be stated to be a law of an arithmetico-geometrical series, for the first storey will be found to consist of the sum of 5 terms of the series I + its various bands, the second storey of the sum of not 5, but 4 next terms of the series + its various bands, the *3rd* storey similarly of the sum of not 4 but 3 next terms of the series + its various bands, thus using up the entire series which consists of 12 terms.

Now, reverting to the position of the Minar, it will be found on measurement that its perpendicular distances from the east outer, the south outer, and the south inner wall are in a geometrical series. Further, the dimensions of the entire inner and outer inclosures are also all in geometrical series. Thus—

Total length of outer inclosure...	=228	feet.
Total breadth	=168	„
Total length inner inclosure ...	=128	„
Total breadth	= 92	

and these numbers are very nearly in a geometrical series, whose common multiplier is 74 nearly.

The law of geometrical proportion is thus seen to govern the entire Hindu Kutb structure; from the size and disposition of the inclosures which bound it, down to the spacing of the ornamental bands that adorn its gates, every important feature is subject to the great law. But where is the law that governs the Muhammadan structures? Their relics, which it is easy to enumerate, and I accordingly do so once for all, are, the front wall of the Masjid with its openings, the present outer colonnades, but not the back wall, the inner colonnades on the east, north, and south, and the north dome, but not the corner domes or the east dome, the east gate, the north, south and east inner inclosure walls, from near the upper single cornice, upwards, the existing back wall to the northern wing of Iltitmish's extension. The layer of rough stones in the courtyard, all traces of whitewash and plaster wherever found, occasional bits here and there, which cannot be more definitely specified, all the Arabic inscriptions wherever found, and lastly, the two topmost storeys in the Minar, and slight alterations at the gates and elsewhere, of the other storeys of the Minar. Where in any of the above is the smallest particle of deep thought to be detected? "They designed like giants, and" their Hindu workmen "finished like jewellers;" but from the

giant killed by Jack, right through the whole genus, giants have hitherto been noted only for supreme stupidity, combined with immense strength.

The immense amount of thought expended on the structure by its original designer is simply marvellous. The choice of the series alone, which governs the spacing of the ornamental features of the Minar, must alone have been a work of no ordinary labour, and this is the strongest, the almost invincible argument in favour of assigning to the Minar an antiquity not inferior to that of the temple, for though it is easy enough, having once fixed the great series, to take a certain term of it, and divide it up into a smaller series, to be used, as we see done, in the gateways of the temple, it would be a task almost impossible to first choose the small series in such a way as to be afterwards applicable on a vast scale, and further to admit of series within series, as we see in the Kutb Minar.

The age of the temple itself has not yet been even approximately fixed; whatever it is, it is certainly anterior to the date of the iron pillar. The iron pillar records the victories of a certain king, never heard of before, and whose genealogy is nowhere mentioned; it is therefore probable he belonged to no illustrious stock. He evidently did not construct the temple, or some mention of it would certainly have been found in his pillar. The temple therefore must have been built by a dynasty preceding him. This is all that can with certainty be said regarding its age, but as the age of the iron pillar is itself uncertain, that of the temple becomes still more so.

An objection here occurs, for the pillars and architraves of the south-east corner dome bear inscriptions, evidently cut before the pillars were put up, in characters of later date than those on the iron pillar; but I will observe that this south-east corner need have nothing to do with the original design of the structure; it need have formed no part of the original design, the parts essential to which are the outer south and inner east gateways, the pillars and wall west end, the walls of the outer and inner inclosures, the outer colonnade and some part, no matter which, of an inner colonnade, a detatched shrine or shrines in the inner inclosure, built according to the geometrical law, will answer quite as well as a colonnade, and the two northern corner domes, also the north and south inner gateways, and

two small or one small shrine at the extreme western corner beyond the dome or domes at west end, and the Minar, the south-east dome may have been added afterwards, without any way discomposing the existing structure.

In connexion with the date of the structure, however, I have to solicit attention to a few inscriptions, or rather fragments, in a very ancient character discovered by me in the Minar.

Near first window of first storey on left hand side, on the concave granite wall or shell of the Minar, is an inscription almost obliterated, of which the few visible letters are

[illegible] (1)

also an inscription near the entrance door left hand side, close to the floor

संवत २५९ ... ... (2)

and another

च । बमेसा ... ... (3)

and one on right hand side, but nearly obliterated

चपुट ... ... (4)

One near the third window, first storey

[illegible] (5)

and चे ११९४ ... ... (6.)

That in the Asoka character must be very ancient, and would tend to carry the building of the Minar back to the era before the Guptas, in whose character the iron *lat* inscription is engraved. This however is not improbable, for the temple must have existed prior to the cutting of the inscription on the pillar.*

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* *Note by General Cunningham.*—Mr. Beglar pointed out these inscriptions to me after this account was written. No. 1 is too faint to be legible. I could make nothing of it. No. 2, which reads clearly Samvat 259, is undoubtedly a mistake for 1259, as this date is found in two other places close by in exactly the same characters. One of these is on the plinth outside, the second is on the left hand of the lower entrance, and the third is on the underside of the entrance arch. I look upon these three repetitions of the same date as the workmen's record of the year in which their work was begun, that is, in Samvat 1259, or A. D. 1202, during the governorship of Kutbuddin Aibeg, thus confirming my view of the Muhammadan origin of the Minar.

The erection too of solitary pillars was a custom in the days of Asoka and of the Guptas, but not of a later period, and the capital of the iron pillar is similar to the capitals of Gupta pillars elsewhere.

This closes the structures of Hindu period in the Kutb. I now notice Sultan Gâri's Tomb.

The structure may be described as a square raised on a high plinth, surrounded on all sides by a wall pierced with overlapping arched openings, having colonnades at the east and west ends, with a gate in the east wall, and an octagonal cell with flat roof in the middle.

What it was, judging from the remains, appears to have been a central octagonal cell, surrounded by colonnades running along the sides of a square, inclosed by a wall pierced with openings, and having a gate on the east.

The pillars there used are of sandstone and marble, the latter only under the existing dome at west end; this dome, though of small size, is formed of overlapping stones, as also are the domes over the corner towers, which are still small! On the outside all these domes resemble those in the Kutb, over the east and corner pillars.

The curious Hindu double cornice noticed in the Kutb runs along the outside, marking the level of plinth, and a single cornice of Hindu design runs along the top. The openings are all covered by lancet-shaped arches of overlapping stones.

The other ornamentation employed is all Hindu, being bands of the usual lozenge or triangle pattern, carvings in the dome stones, brackets, &c.

The central cell is octagonal, its roof, which is flat, being supported by square plain pillars, piled on each other in two tiers ; the outside is cased with marble, but within this marble casing is a smooth inner octagon of granite, and the wall of the cell, though very thick, if measured to the marble casing, is exactly of the same thickness as the walls if measured to the granite only ; the marble therefore is an addition made after the structure was fully designed and built in granite. Outside the inclosure of Sultan Gari's Tomb are two tombs with domes supported on pillars. These domes are of the usual Muhammadan construction, and not formed by overlapping courses. They are said to be the tombs of two of his sons, who died in his lifetime; therefore it is evident that in Iltitmish's time the Muhammadans knew how to build the true dome.

Therefore the tomb of Sultan Gari, with its domes of overlapping courses, appears to be pre-Muhammadan, but when to this feature we add the other Hindu features, both of construction and ornamentation, the stones set without cement in the walls, the appearance of wear or weathering of the stones, greater even than in the Kutb, though similar in material, and the fact that the inner cell was originally finished in granite, but afterwards cased with marble, it becomes extremely probable that this is, like the Kutb, a Hindu building appropriated by the Muhammadans, and the probability is rendered almost a certainty by the existence of the central cell, which is a construction adapted to some Hindu forms of worship, the Saivic, but which is an anomaly in Muhammadan architecture.

Iltitmish's tomb I have a suspicion to be only another instance of a converted Hindu structure, but as beyond the fact that its style is Hindu if we look at the granite, and Muhammadan if at the sandstone, and that the sandstone appears as if added afterwards, for the granite structure would be quite complete in itself without the sandstone, and that its pendentines are portions of Hindu domes, there is no other argument for calling it Hindu. I cannot therefore assign it for certain to either Hindus or Muhammadans, but leave it an open question.

The last Hindu remains to be noticed is the outer Kilah Ray Pithora, which, as I agree with General Cunningham, may be dismissed in a few words.

From the latter part of quotation 10 of my previous account, it appears that old Delhi, which is Kilah Ray Pithora, had 10 gates. Quotation 11 mentions 7 gates only, but, as I have before shown, this is a mistake. At the time the account was written, the citadel of Anang-pal having ceased to exist as a defensible place, and no other defensible citadel existed within old Delhi, the fort of old Delhi would therefore mean the entire space surrounded by a defensible wall, including Anang-pal's dismantled Lalkot.

Taking this view, and starting from Adham Khan's Tomb along the walls of Anang-pal's Lalkot, which was common to it and to the outer fort, is seen the remains of a gateway* near the south-west corner near Adham Khan's Tomb; only a fragment of the jamb is visible now, the place being a mound of ruins. No name for this gate has been found.

* Plate I.

Further on is the Ranjit or Ghazni gate, already noticed in my account of Lâlkot; beyond this gate at Fateh Burj two lines of walls branch off, one that of the citadel, noticed before; the other, lower and weaker, which is the wall of Kilah Ray Pithora; following this, at a point opposite, a small Muhammadan shrine or Karbala, on the other side of a little rivulet which forms a natural ditch to the fort, exists a gate, which General Cunningham considers a gateway. This makes the third gate in the outer fort; it is nameless.

Further on, following the line of walls, there is another bifurcation of the walls, the left hand one being the walls of Jahanpanah, a complete ruin now. The right hand one is the wall of old Delhi; following it a short way beyond the bifurcation, there is seen a ramp or approach from the valley to the high ground, within the walls some dressed stone, the remains evidently of a gate; no name for it exists; this makes the fourth gate, reckoning from Adham Khan's tomb, and the first gate opening into Jahanpanah.

Further on, the wall crosses the present Delhi road, and a short way beyond exist the remains of two gates and a gap, which may have been a gate, but is more probably only a water-course; these two gates, which are both nameless, make the fifth and sixth gates from the beginning, and the second and third gates opening into Jahanpanah.

Further on, the eastern wall of Jahanpanah branches off, and the wall of old Delhi turns southwards; close to the junction is a small postern only four feet wide; this must be the Hauz Rani gate, as it faces Hauz Rani. Quotation 10, alluded to above, mentions that the king escaped or fled from the Hauz Rani gate, and this being a postern, favors the supposition of the king having selected this to fly out of.

Further on is a large gate with outworks, and near it an old bridge over the rivulet that forms a natural defence on this side; this, as shown before, is the Budaon gate.

The next is a gate in a re-entering angle of the fort walls. Quotation 10 says, the king from the Hauz Rani and Mallu Khan from the Burkah gates, which two gates are on the south side of the walls, went out, fled, and wandered in the jungles. There are only three gates in this portion of the wall which runs nearly due south, of which two have already been identified, the remaining one then must be the Burkah gate. This makes the ninth gate from the beginning, Hauz Rani being the seventh, and Budaon the eighth.

From here the wall runs south-west, and after some distance turns and runs almost due west towards Jamâli Kamâli's Masjid; about half-way between the turn of the wall and the Masjid exists the pillars and remains of a large gateway with outworks; this makes the tenth and last gateway in the walls.

From here the wall can be traced up to a short distance, running through a heap of ruins, but soon all traces of it are lost in the immense mass of ruined structure that covers the ground, and the wall is not again seen till it reappears at the back of Jamâli Kamâli's Masjid; the wall then can easily be traced all the way to Adham Khan's tomb.

This finishes the Hindu remains of Delhi; of the Muhammadan remains ample information can be obtained in the guide books, in the accounts of several travellers, and in General Cunningham's report. I will therefore notice only what has nowhere else been noticed.

Remains of walls* of great thickness (15 feet) have been found in prolongation of the great front wall of Kutb and Iltitmish's Masjids on the north side, which show that Alauddin intended to extend the Masjid in that direction. The walls are pierced with openings intended for archways, but which now are mere gaps; the walls as they stand are nowhere higher than 10 or 11 feet above the present ground level, and are thickly covered, and completely hidden by scrub and jungle; but from the remains that yet exist, it appears this extension was intended to exactly double the length of the Masjid as it existed, including Iltitmish's extensions. Opposite the centre opening of this great extension stands the remnants of Alauddin's Minar.

Remains of a gateway exist, showing that he intended to build a gate in the outer north wall of his extension, in a line with the outer south gateway of Iltitmish's extension, and the inner north and south gateways; in addition to this gateway, he contemplated the erection of a second gateway on the north to correspond with his existing Alai Darwâza on the south; of this only a mound of ruins marks the site. To the east his additions extended to a line represented by the existing east end of what is still known as the Alai colonnade, and the eastern boundary wall forming the back wall of the easternmost colonnade, of which a few pillars at the south-east corner are still standing, can be traced

* Plate VII.

(with breaks) all the way from the south-east to the north-east corner of his extension. Yusuf Serai would thus have come exactly in the centre line of his eastern wall, and was probably meant to form a vast gateway on the east. In Plate VII are shown the different portions of the Masjid known as Kutb's, as Iltitmish's, and as Alauddin's; Kutb's and Iltitmish's I have shown to be Hindu, altered to some extent. Alauddin's however is entirely his own; his pillars were not borrowed, nor the dressed and moulded stones in his walls, from Hindu structures, but were made by him, and the evidence of this is the great difference in weathering between these and the old Hindu stones, and difference in workmanship, slight indeed, but quite enough to distinguish it from the finer old Hindu workmanship.

The magnificent design of Alauddin, like his other great designs in public works, was begun but never completed; of his Minar, the unfinished fragment has a quaint majesty that is possessed by no other structure in Delhi. Tradition states it was to have been cased with marble, and that the marble itself had been collected for the purpose, and long lay neglected, till it was used up in Humâyun's tomb. The only structure that was completed and exists to this day in fair order is the Alai Darwâza. In the whole series of Pathan buildings in Delhi, none equals it in beauty. It is the first undoubted Muhammadan structure of any pretensions in Delhi, and the finest; but I wish to point out that its beauty is due not to any harmony or appropriateness of its parts, or of its ornamentation, but to the unrivalled execution of the carvings that adorn it, to the strong contrast of the minute carving, with the wide bare expanse of its dome; a contrast that, while it exaggerates the apparent size of the dome, brings into strong relief at the same time the delicacy of the carvings, making them look more delicate than they actually are, and to the great doorways combining majesty of size and delicacy of execution, presenting the strong contrast of bare dome to elaborately carved walls from becoming offensively harsh; but of true architectural ornamentation there is very little, and the meaningless pavelled ornaments on the outside are only saved from becoming offensive by the fineness of their execution.

How great is the difference between the Hindu Kutb and this gateway. There not a line of ornament is introduced that does not point and emphasise some constructive

feature; every feature there has an office to perform, and performs it well, it is emphatically a structure possessing harmony. The Alai Darwâza, on the contrary, has little of architectural ornament, and owes its beauty more to the carvings executed by Hindu workmen, the last expiring effort of Hindu art in Delhi, than to any remarkable harmony of arrangement.

Indeed on *à priori* grounds we should expect this want of appreciation of truthful ornamentation among the Muhammadans, a barbarous and warlike people, whose religion narrowed their minds, naturally none of the most liberal, and demanded the suppression of æsthetic feelings. They could not be expected to reach a high standard in architecture within a short time, still less then could they be expected shortly after their conquest of India to produce structures worthy of admiration for harmony; and this is precisely what has happened, for with all the aid of elaborate ornamentation, carved, be it remembered, by Hindu hands, they have not produced any structure which commands admiration independent of mere beauty of ornament (for which the Hindu workmen deserve credit), or of sheer greatness of size, and as soon as they attempted to build without the aid of Hindu workmen, they produced what certainly is grand from sheer massiveness, but what is utterly devoid of that combination of qualities which produces in our minds the idea of beauty, independent of colour, carving, material, or mass.

It is only after the Mughal conquest that Muhammadan architecture begins to be beautiful.

The other structures in the Kutb are remarkable for nothing, and I pass them over.

In outer Kilah Ray Pithora, to the east of the road, is a ruined bowlee with fluted well; it is now in ruins, but must have been originally very beautiful; close to it are extensive ruins over which crops now grow, but whence is often extracted large worked slabs of red sandstone.

Passing on to Jahanpanah, I notice that the walls on the west side are so completely ruined as to render it impossible to identify the gates; the walls on the east have undergone occasional repair and alteration, especially for the construction or maintenance of sluices, and other contrivances for the regulation of water, and this renders the positions of its gates doubtful. A fine stone structure, called

the Satpallalla band, forms part of the walls, and was intended to act as a sluice for the regulation of water; it is partially ruined, but is still a fine object and worthy of notice. Close to this is the Khirki Masjid and Khirki village. The domes of the Khirki Masjid are semi-circular in section inside, but pointed on the outside, and the extra height at the crown outside is obtained by increased thickness of the layer of mortar at the crown. Except its vast extent, there is nothing very remarkable about it; the domes and roofs are supported on short massive pillars, from which spring arches which support the domes; the pendentives are formed by building out, or filling up the corner, on the principle of the corbel, but without any steps, and plastered over. Near Siri, a short way outside the south walls of it, stands the ruins of Hazar Situn. There are also numbers of other remains of no special interest.

To the north-west of Jahanpanah, outside its walls, and some way off, is Firuz Shah's tomb; there is nothing remarkable in the construction, but the site is very good; it forms one of an immense range of buildings, which appear of a date slightly, if at all, different to Firuz Shah's tomb. These buildings occupy the entire of one side of what once was a large tank, called Hauz Khâs; and when the tank was in good order, must have formed a magnificent whole.

In Timur's history this tank is noticed. Timur is there stated to have sat in an Idgah close to it after his victory; there is now the ruins of a small Idgah, some little distance from the south-east corner of the tank; from its style it appears ancient, and I identify it with the Idgah mentioned in Timur's history.

Further west are several nameless tombs, some still in very good order and fine in appearance; beyond them all, on the ridge running northward from Sultan Gâri's tomb, an extensive ruin, consisting of the remains of a masjid mostly entire, and of other buildings, the whole surrounded by a battlemented wall mostly in ruins, exists; beyond a tradition ascribing its erection to the Pathans, there are no other accounts.

A little to the south-west of this is a small domed chamber marked on the published map as a Sivala, which it is not now, but a storehouse. A mêla or fair takes place there annually at a certain period; round this are ranged on two sides small kistvaens, two feet high, formed of three

stones for the three sides and a stone for the roof, leaving one side quite open. When I first saw them there were many; on my next visit I found the place converted into a manufactory of white clay, which is found in large quantities in adjacent quarries. All but one of the kistvaens had disappeared, and of this the roof had been displaced; it has since been removed to Delhi, and is now in the Delhi Museum.

Not far from this is the village and tank of Mahipâlpur, the extensive ruined band of which has already been noticed by General Cunningham.

Close to the road which passes a little way west of Mahipâlpur, towards Delhi, is the Malcha; in style it much resembles Khirki, but instead of a collection of small domes, this has one large dome over the great central hall supported on massive pillars.

Siri has been fully noticed by General Cunningham; it was very strong, and sustained three sieges in the civil wars preceding Baber's invasion. The remains of extensive buildings occupy the extreme west end of the fort, and detached buildings forming parts of the great mass extend right up to the walls on the west side; this enables the west gate Siri, now marked by a depression in the line of mound of the fort walls, to be identified as the Bagdad gate. I quote Ferishta.*

"Kali Khan, with the malcontents, now marched to Delhi, which they reached on the last day of Ramzan, A. H. 839. In this dilemma, the Vazir Sarwar-ul-Mulk took portion of the citadel of Siri, wherein he stood a siege of three months. But discovering the King's intention of escaping, or killing him, he determined to anticipate the King by killing him. In this he lost his life. The Khatris and other adherents of the Vazir, apprehensive of the King's vengeance, rose in arms, and compelled him to defend his palace. Thus situated, he caused the Bagdad gate to be thrown open to the besiegers, who rushing in committed dreadful slaughter on the rebels."

The gate which he threw open to the besiegers was in all probability the gate nearest his palace, which could be got at without the knowledge of the rebels who attacked his palace; and the west gate is the only one that suits the case.

* Briggs' Ferishta, I, 354.

Beyond Siri, the road has several ruins to the right and left; at a distance of about three-fourths of a mile from the road opposite the present village of Mahjidpur is the Moth ki Masjid; it is of the period of the Lodis, and, tradition says, was built by a poor cultivator, who had acquired riches by trading in the pulse called moth. The carved corbels of this Masjid and its gateway are very beautiful and much resemble those in Kamâli Jamâli's tomb, and in the Shir Mandil there exists remains of bands of Arabic inscriptions, carved boldly in marble round the gateway; but the decay of the gateway has left little of the inscription entire. The courtyard and Masjid are full of the huts of inhabitants, the interior of the Masjid being partitioned off by mud walls to form rooms for the people. The whole place is altogether very filthy, and there is some difficulty in obtaining access to the Masjid. A bold eave supported on corbels, and projecting about 3½ feet from the face of the Masjid, once adorned the entire front of the building; fragments alone now remain. The face was likewise adorned by coloured plaster medallions; the material used is rubble and plaster, but some of the ornamental parts, the pillars at the jambs, &c., are of cut-stone; marble was used for the bands of inscriptions in the gateway; these bands were both plain and coloured; if colour was used in the interior, all trace of it is lost by a layer of soot, but outside and in the gateway the colours used are green, blue, red, both the red sandstone and red colour, white, black and possibly yellow; the enclosure wall is arcaded on the outside and also inside.

Safdar Jang's tomb has been noticed by General Cunningham; the material is red stone and marble, brick mortar and hard stucco of excellent quality. The arches used are semi-circular, gothic, and flat parabolic; the domes are flattish, and some flat paraboloidal, formed by the revolution of a semi-parabola round an ordinate. Some roofs are formed by plain arch sheeting. The central dome is triple, the two inner of brick and mortar, and flattish; the outer one bulbous, and of marble.

To the left of the road from Safdar Jang's tomb to Humâyun's are several tombs; the one nearest is very curious, with its sloping pillars; it is an octagon in shape; the inside is full of graves; dome on low neck.

Some way further off the road in Khairpur is a Masjid, cloisters and tomb. The Masjid is a fine specimen of

what General Cunningham calls stucco Pathan architecture. The spandrils of arches, the soffits, and great part of the interior are covered with elaborate tracery and inscriptions, cut in plaster, the quality of which is so good that the sharpness of the lines is perfect to this day. The interior is black with accumulated soot, and the building is even now used as a cow-shed; the material used is rubble and plaster, but the pillars or rather pilasters are of dressed granite, and two balconies projecting out at the two sides are of red stone; colour appears to have been used also, but the soot prevents all being seen; blue certainly was used, and probably others.*

Domes on low necks, flattish inside, resting on corbelled pendentines; these last are beautiful, though by no means singular; such pendentines occur often elsewhere.

The red stone structure to the south of the quadrangle of the Masjid, has been supposed to be the tomb of the founder of the Masjid, but, apart from the circumstance that no grave exists inside, the styles of the two are very different, as well as the material is re-dressed stone inside, and dressed stone is more plentifully used by far in it than in the Masjid; the pendentines are similar to those of Alai Darwâza, and are beautiful, though plain; and the plan of the building is almost exactly the same as of Alai Darwâza, but plain. The wall connecting this with the Masjid and cloisters is evidently a later addition, as the junction of it both with Masjid and with tomb is plainly visible, and shows that it was built after both Masjid and the building supposed to be a tomb were completed; the wall is not bonded into either the Masjid or the cloisters or the structure at the side, of which, by the way, it covers up parts of the north-west and north-east windows.

Opposite the Masjid, however, and occupying a place as nearly central as can be judged of the quadrangle, on which Masjid and cloisters stand, are the remains of a chaubutra, which must have been the original tomb belonging to the Masjid, and probably that of its founder; in fact, Syed Ahmed's illustration in his larger work shows the tombstone perfect, though now it is no longer so.

The cloisters facing the Masjid are of rubble and plaster, and of no interest.

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* *Note by General Cunningham.*—This Masjid was cleared out on my recommendation by Colonel George Hamilton, Commissioner of Delhi. I had supposed it to be of the time of Firuz Tughlak; but on visiting it, after it became accessible, I found an inscription inside, declaring it to be the Jâma Masjid of Sikandar Ludi.

Near Khairpur, and to this masjid, is the tomb of Sikandar Ludi. Dome on low neck; coloured medallions are used as ornaments. Material, rubble and mortar, and dressed stone, also red stone for ornamental parts. Syed Ahmed calls it Sikandar Ludi's tomb, and I have followed him, though I am not aware of any reason sufficient for calling it the tomb of Sikandar Ludi.

Returning now to the road from Kutb to Delhi, there is nothing of great interest all the way to Delhi except the Jantar Mantar, or Observatory.

DELHI.—Shahjahabad itself is too well known and too often described to need any mention here, and although architectural notes on the gateways of fort and citadel, and on the walls and defences, would be very interesting, it needs a good knowledge of military engineering,—a subject I am not at all familiar with.

The ancient remains in Delhi itself are very few; the Kali or Kalân Masjid and tomb of Sultana Raziah, to my knowledge, are the only specimens that certainly date before Shah Jehan. The last is a complete ruin, if, indeed, it be her tomb at all (as Syed Ahmed affirms), near the Turkoman gate. Kalân Masjid is still in excellent order; it is a building of plaster and rubble, with pillars of granite dressed, and roofed by a collection of small domes of the style of the Khirki Masjid; the domes are supported also, as in Khirki Masjid, on arches springing from pillars and on similar pendentines; the colours used appear to have been from remains of fragments, blue, red, probably also yellow, and the colour of the granite used.

The later remains in Delhi are numerous, the largest being the great Jâma Masjid, which for size is unrivalled: the Masjid itself is of marble, with three marble domes and corner minars of marble and red stone in alternate longitudinal stripes; the cloisters and gateway are entirely of red sandstone, as also is a great portion of the Masjid itself. Though greatly praised, I consider the praise misapplied. It certainly is very large, and very grand, the workmanship is good, and the material, marble, costly; but in the Masjid itself the great central archway is far too large for the side arches, and completely overpowers them, and produces pretty much the impression of a gigantic false screen put in front of the centre of the Masjid; there is besides a great want of light and shade in the facade; it is too flat altogether, and

the evil of the side archways being as small compared to the great central arch, is aggravated by the great flat tablets of inscriptions over them, which are not only quite out of proportion to the archways, and look overpoweringly heavy, but are so flat as materially to conduce to the general effect of flatness of the structure. The really beautiful parts in the Masjid are its gateways, with the long line of airy arcade extending on either side, and the view from the outside is greatly superior to that from inside, the magnificent steps, unrivalled in Delhi or elsewhere, adding materially to the grandeur of the whole. Indeed the steps are so magnificent, as to form a feature in themselves highly pleasing and impressive.

The Zinat ul masâjid is a fine masjid, with three great bulbous domes and tall minars, and would be very pleasing, were not the effect of the domes rendered patchy by broad stripes of black running down from the apex to the base of the dome, ruining the grandeur of its otherwise fine marble domes.

Zinat un nissa is a small but very fine masjid; it is said to have once been covered with gilding, and the cupola over the fine slender minars is still gilt.

The Fatehpuri Masjid is a fine building, with a gigantic dome, once covered with glazed tiles, but now ruinous; the form and mass of its dome and the bold tall minars at its angle give an imposing effect that is seldom seen in structures of the period, and although really late Mughal, it bears little resemblance to the typical structures of the period.

Soneli Masjid Kotwali, said to be the one where Nadir Shah sat in gloomy silence while Delhi was given up to plunder, is a small but beautiful building; its three domes are still covered with plates of gilt copper (?)

The objects of interest in the fort itself have been too often described to need repeating. I only notice that the roofs of the Dewân and Am khâs are of the flat coned pattern, not usual in Muhammadan architecture.

Leaving Delhi Shahjahanabad and going northwards, near Hindu Rao's house are two ruinous buildings,* known as Pirgheb, and used as a Great Trigonometrical Survey station, and the Chauburji, the former may be identified with Firuz Shah's Kushak Shikar; though now a small building,

* Plate VII.

it must once have been of great size, as the whole of the east face of it is in ruins, which extend in undistinguishable breaks to a distance of fully 100 feet from the existing face of the building. At this distance are seen the remains of walls, evidently the extreme east walls of the building, resembling those still existing in material, workmanship, and in the great slope or batter, which appears to have been a characteristic of the period. The building, as it exists, has undergone extensive alteration and repair, which have been so clumsily executed, that the later additions are plainly distinguishable, not merely by difference of construction and style, but by not having been bonded in with the old work, so as to make one piece with it. The ribbed arches of the structure, the slope of its walls, the form of its minars, all corresponding to those of structures known to be of Firuz Shah's era, as the Kotela and Kalân Masjid, fix its date of erection to Firuz Shah's reign, and it fulfils the conditions necessary to identify it with the Kushak Shikar.

Chauburji* is a building having four domed towers at the corners; its gate now faces the south, but is apparently a late addition; it, like its neighbour, has undergone much addition and alteration. I am of opinion it was intended originally as a chapel to the Kushak Shikar; one great Kibla apse still exists in the west wall.

Going straight out from Delhi by the Lahor gate, to Rohilla Khan's serai, and crossing the canal, will be found a fine building† known as Bhulbhulinja; the building is said to be the tomb of one of Aurangzib's daughters. It is built of rubble and mortar, with occasional use of red dressed stone as a false veneer to arches, &c., and is perfectly symmetrical on all its sides, so that it is difficult even now, after seeing the building in the interior, to come out by the same gate as one entered. A great flattish dome inside covers the main room, but the outside is not domed; in place of a dome is a flat raised Chaubutra, square in plan, and larger but otherwise much in the style of the raised portion of cell of Sultan Gâri's tomb. This Chaubutra is said to have once possessed beautiful marble lattice-work on all sides, destroyed and carried off during the mutiny. The four corner minars are bold and beautiful, and rise

* Plate VIII

† Plate IX

to a great height. Saltpetre has attacked the lower parts of the walls, and will soon cause the destruction of the building.

Returning to Delhi, I notice the old bridge connecting Salimgarh with the citadel of Delhi. The constructive features of the arches of this bridge deserve notice; the arch sheeting is formed of rubble and mortar, and springs flush from the face of the abutments. It is strengthened by a series of arched ribs springing from corbels that project from the faces of the abutments, which give great appearance of lightness, with great strength. As it is, the bridge cannot, from the immense size of its piers, appear light, but were the piers well proportioned, the effect would be very pleasing. From the valley or water-course spanned by this bridge, a magnificent view is obtained of all the bridges that span this nullah close to each other, and the various bridges are so varied in style as to render the view extremely pleasing and unique. First is the old-fashioned modern road bridge, then the ancient bridge, then the railway bridge, which cuts at a very acute angle the direction of the stream, and is very beautiful both in form and in construction, although the material is only brick; next is a bridge with light airy railings, and far beyond all the silvery reflection of the Jumna, this in the cold weather; during rains doubtless the stream is full of water.

Leaving Delhi Shahjahanabad by the Delhi gate, to the left stands Firuz Shah's Kotela and the Asoka pillar, and beyond, close to the road, is a solitary gate known as Kabuli Darwâza, or Lal Darwâza. As no traces of ramparts can be seen extending from the wall on either side, I conclude it to have been a city gate.

Further on, and close to the road, is an inscribed masjid; it is of a plain construction, of rubble and mortar, ornamented with coloured plaster medallions inside and outside, and patterns inside; the cloisters attached to it have disappeared, leaving only one tower at the north-east corner standing.

Close to Purana Kilah, on the right of the present road to Humâyun's, and just beyond the Kilah, is a solitary gate similar to Lal Darwâza, noticed before. The gate is ornamented by coloured or glazed plaster medallions and devices or patterns, and flowers cut in red stone and in coloured plaster. The battlements are ornamented by blue medallions; it is altogether a fine specimen of gateway. I

conclude from the absence of all traces of rampart walls in continuation of the two enormous towers flanking it (now ruined), which once must have added enormously to the dignity of the gateway, that it, like the Lâl Darwâza, which it much resembles, is a city gate, under which once passed one of the main streets of old Delhi. From Humâyun's tomb, in a line almost perfectly straight, an old city road passes direct under this gate straight on beyond as far as the eye can see; the entire distance, so far as the road can be traced, is covered by ruins of houses on either side, and immediately near the gate are a series of small chambers, probably the shops of petty tradespeople, but which being regularly built and forming as it were wings or approaches to the gate, appear very appropriate.

A Kos Minar is placed exactly in the centre of the road between this gate and Humâyun's tomb, and the road is there widened so as to allow free passage on either side of the Kos Minar; this is a pleasing feature, and as Kos Minar can easily be rendered ornamental and useful in other ways than that of merely marking the mileage distance, the mode of placing it in the centre of the road and making it conspicuous, instead of hiding it away in the ditch, or allowing it to be hidden by jungle and grass on the sides of the road, as is done with the present puny milestones, is not undeserving of attention.

Close to this Darwâza or gateway is an inscribed masjid of Akbar's period; it is built of rubble and plaster, with the ornamented parts of gateway and masjid painted by the use of red dressed stone and granite; the gate now partly ruined must once have been very fine. The masjid inside was profusely ornamented with coloured plaster and glazed tiles, though now most of it has been stripped off. The façade of the masjid and gateway were also ornamented with coloured medallions and carved stone flowers, the colors used were blue, yellow, red, purple, white, green, black, and grey. It has one central dome on a low neck, and very peculiar pinnacle, greatly resembling that of Kila Kona Masjid. The walls of the masjid are plumb, but the towers slope, and it has great projecting eaves in front as in Moth ki Masjid. A peculiarity of this Masjid were its cloisters.

In Purana Kilah two buildings deserve notice, the Shir Mandil and Kila Kona Masjid. The Shir Mandil is a beautiful structure of red stone, and granite and marble,

of which the last, however, is confined to the cupola, and some minor details in the main building. The main room inside, and it has but one, is profusely ornamented with paintings of flowers and patterns in various colours; the patterns are very beautiful; the colours used are, blue, green, red, yellow, white, grey, and black; the stairs are very narrow and dangerous.

The Kila Kona Masjid is a building of stone faced in parts with dressed marble, black slate, and red and yellow sandstone. It has one central dome on low neck still existing, but traces of the side once have been discovered by General Cunningham on the present flat roof. The pinnacle is formed of a flattish, round corrugated stone, supported below by a moulded shaft, and resembling the top stone of the great towers in Hindu temples; the pendentives supporting the domes are of various kinds, the corbelled ones being especially beautiful; the two end roofs are formed by a central flattish dome, against which two semi-domes abut; the combination of curved lines thus formed is extremely pleasing. The domes are all flattish in the interior. The profusion of mouldings in this Masjid, inside and out, and the number of angles into which its flat walls are broken up, give a variety of light and shade that is extremely pleasing, and the harmony of colour, obtained on the outside by the use of polished stone of the various colours noticed, and inside near the apses by colour, is unrivalled. The ornamental features in the shape of projecting balconies supported in front by elegant brackets, the beautiful open pillared towers at the corners possessing brackets and mouldings of exquisite beauty, are very elegant and very appropriate, and far surpass the false ornamentation generally seen in Muhammadan buildings. The dead blank of the back wall too is relieved by projecting balconies, and altogether this masjid, though not very large nor very costly, is the most beautiful Muhammadan structure that exists in Delhi.

Passing out of Purana Kilah, there is nothing of especial interest up to Humâyun's tomb. This enormous building is constructed of red sandstone marble, facing a rubble core; the exterior is adorned by patterns formed by marble in a ground of red sandstone, and *vice versâ;* the lattices, with which all openings are closed, are of marble and red sandstone, and are beautiful. Corner rooms are in the interior ornamented by elaborate and beautiful patterns in colour on

plaster; the great central room, however, is ornamented only by squares of marble and black stone laid alternately as a floor round the tomb which occupies the centre. The exterior of the great central dome is of a peculiar, but not pleasing shape; it is pointed, and rests on a neck less in diameter than itself, looking as if it were being strangulated; the extensive terrace round it is very pleasing; the gates of the building are also very fine, though plain.

In the immense crowd of structures about Humâyun's tomb, I only notice Khizr Khan's Masjid and Chaunsat Khamba. The masjid consists of one great room surmounted by a noble dome; the dome is flattish inside, and is supported on pendentives the most beautiful in Delhi; these pendentives are on the same pattern as those in the Alai Darwâza, but instead of supporting plain horseshoe arches, out of keeping with the great fretted archways beside them, these support gothic arches exquisitely carved and fretted, and in perfect keeping with the great entrance arch, which itself is very beautiful. This great hall is indeed very imposing. On either side of this great hall or masjid are oblong halls communicating with the great central one by two small openings (provided with doors) on each side; the side halls are not particularly noticeable for anything but their utter want of keeping with the central hall; they are roofed by two small flattish domes, resting on the walls and on a great archway of the full span of the room almost, which springs from brackets or corbels in the middle of the length of the hall.

The Chaunsat Khamba,* as its name implies, is a collection of 64 pillars forming a square, supporting small domes on arches, all of marble. The execution is very fine; the outer pillars are connected by lattices of marble of various patterns, but by no means deserving the extravagant praise generally bestowed on them. Some of the marble having got broken, has been replaced by sandstone ones, which utterly mar the beauty of the structure.

Passing out of this crowd of buildings is a bridge over a rivulet, called the Bara Palla. I would suggest that the name Bara Palla refers to the 12 abutments or piers that support the 11 arches, the word *palla* being often used to denote the abutments of a bridge.

Further on, on the left side of the road, is the remains

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* Plate VIII.

of a battlemented wall and of towers; this was probably Kilokari, once a favorite residence of the old kings of Delhi. No structures, but only mounds, exist to mark the sites of any buildings that once may have existed inside.

Further on to the right of the road is Mandir Kâlka, dedicated to Kali; it is a structure that, in common with Nila Chatri, cannot date beyond Shah Jehan's reign, though the Brahmins of the place claim an extraordinary antiquity for it.

The last object of interest south of this is Tughlakabad and its pendant Adilabad. This fort is built in a position naturally strong, being surrounded by ravines and broken ground; the walls also are of enormous thickness, but this thickness being due to the walls being hollow, the strength is by no means what would be expected at first sight; on the contrary, the walls are really weak, weaker than those of the citadel of Lalkot. Up to a certain height from the bottom the hollows are domed over, and over these the masonry is built up flat, so that it appears solid; above this point the wall diminishes greatly in thickness, leaving a broad space, or offset, part of which is utilised by building chambers abutting against the narrowed wall at the back. Two rows of domes make up the great thickness of the wall down below.

Within the outer fort is the citadel, and within the citadel appears fragments, which show that a third smaller inclosure existed within the citadel; the space within this inclosure is full of the ruins of small houses, apparently dwelling houses; in all probability the king's private residence and zenanah and domestic offices; the houses are all small, and without a single window. The general plan appears to have been a courtyard surrounded on three, and sometimes on all, sides by rows of rooms; there was only one entrance to each such inclosure, and facing the side on which the entrance was, is the hall, an oblong of about 15 or 20 feet, by 10 or 12 feet wide; on either side of this were small rooms communicating with the hall and with the courtyard. Sometimes the hall had also a range of small rooms at the back; all the rooms are furnished with numerous small arches, but never a window opening outwards. It is difficult to imagine that the king lived in such a miserable place, but such appears to have been the fact. The grand palaces, masjids, &c., are very magnificent, but are evidently not meant as dwelling places, and all remains of dwelling

places that have hitherto been discovered are very uncomfortable and miserable. Such are the cloisters of the masjids, which consist of a single room, sometimes with a little open roofed space in front, and, strange though it may appear, I believe that even the king's private residence was not much better; domestic comfort, a comfortable dwelling house, appears to have been a thing unknown in those days, notwithstanding the magnificence of the public buildings, and the description above of the remains of them in Tughlakabad will be found to apply, word for word, even to the native houses of this day, though the richer portion have, in imitation of their European conquerors, built for themselves dwelling houses sufficiently large and comfortable.

Tughlak's tomb needs no notice, as it has been described by General Cunningham.

Adilabad is a small citadel connected with Tughlakabad, but outside of its walls I notice, simply to correct a mistake into which Syed Ahmad has fallen when he described Hazâr Sitûn as in Adilabad.* The remains of Hazâr Sitûn, as already noticed, exist close outside Siri, exactly where, according to history, they ought to exist; and Alauddin's tomb, instead of being in the great ruined mass facing Iltitmish's tomb in the Kutb, ought, according to history, to be in Hazâr Sitûn. Hazâr Sitûn is situated on the bank or edge of what once must have been a large tank, though only a little dirty pool now, and in the ruins of Hazâr Sitûn, at the end near the tank, exists a fine marble tombstone, yellow with age and exposure, of which the people have no traditions, but which can be no other than Alauddin's tomb. At any rate, Alauddinis tomb has never yet been found, and Syed Ahmad himself says no tombstone exists in what he calls Alauddin's tomb; certainly none exists now, and the disposition of the great structure is quite different to that of a tomb, and, further, is inconsistent with what is recorded in history, that Alauddin was buried in Hazâr Sitûn. This again was erroneously supposed to be within Siri, although history distinctly mentions it to have been in Jahân Panah. Siri again was erroneously supposed to be identical with Lalkot of Anangpal, a mistake which cannot for one moment resist the evidence both of fact and of history, and it is only owing to this combination

* *Note by General Cunningham.*—I believe that there was a second "Palace of one thousand pillars" in Adilabad, built by Muhammad Taghlak.

of mistakes, I believe, that Alauddin's tomb has been supposed to be the great ruined mass opposite Iltitmish's in the Kutb.

This closes my notice of the buildings in Delhi. I think it convenient, however, to give a list of the principal objects of interest in Delhi, with references to the pages in this volume where they have been noticed, thus forming an index to the report, or to other authorities, where they have either been described or casually referred to. As Syed Ahmad's great work on Delhi is the completest one that has yet been published, I adopt his arrangement, omitting, however, those that are of no interest :—

1.—Tughlakabad, p. 76,—Cunningham's report, II, 212—Syed Ahmad.
2.—Tughlak's tomb, p. 77,—Cunningham's report, II, 213—Syed Ahmad.
3.—Hazâr Sitûn, p. 77.
4.—Adilabad, p. 77,—Cunningham, 217—Syed Ahmad.
5.—Mandir Kalka, p. 76,—Syed Ahmad.
6.—Roshan Chirâgh. In reference to this, I take up the suggestion of General Cunningham in his report, II, p. 210, where he says that Ferishta, in describing the place of meeting of Nusrat and Mallu, has made a mistake and called it the tomb of Khwaja Kutbuddin Bakhtiâr, Kâki. Adopting the correction, Ferishta's account becomes quite consistent, for the palace of Siri, *viz.*, the Hazâr Sitûn, is very close to Roshan Chirâgh. For an account of Roshan Chirâgh, refer to Syed Ahmad.
7.—Sultan Behlol Ludi's tomb—Syed Ahmad; it is within the inclosure of Roshan Chirâgh, and is a very curious building.
8.—Sat palla band, p. 65,—Syed Ahmad.
9.—Khirki Masjid, p. 65,—Syed Ahmad.
10.—Durga Yusuf Kotal—Syed Ahmad.
11.— „ Shekh Salauddin—Syed Ahmad.
12.—Tomb unknown—Syed Ahmad.
13.—Panjburja Kanchanserai—Syed Ahmad
14.—Tomb of Langar Khan—Syed Ahmad.
15.—Basti Baori—Syed Ahmad.
16.—Khizr's Gumbaz Okla, now gone—Syed Ahmad.
17.—Bara palla, p. 75,—Cunningham, II, p. 222.

18.—Tomb of Khan-i-Khanan—Syed Ahmad.
19.—Nila Gumbaz—Syed Ahmad.
20.—Humâyun's tomb, p. 74,—Cunningham, II, 223—Syed Ahmad.
21.—Tomb within Humâyun's compound—Syed Ahmad.
22.—Arab-ke-Serai—Syed Ahmad.
23.—Darwâza Mandi—Syed Ahmad.
24.—Tomb and Masjid, Isa Khan—Syed Ahmad.
25.—Dargâh Nizamuddin—Syed Ahmad.
26.—Khizr Khan's Masjid, p. 75,—Syed Ahmad.
27.—Tombs of late Emperors of Delhi—Syed Ahmad.
28.—Dargâh Amir Khusru—Syed Ahmad.
29.—Tomb of Raja Khan, remarkable for shape of its dome—Syed Ahmad.
Plate VIII. 30.—Chaunsat Khamba, p. 75,—Syed Ahmad.
31.—Lal Mahal—Syed Ahmad.
32.—Tomb of Syed Abid—Syed Ahmad.
33.—Lal Bungalow—Syed Ahmad.
34.—Purana Kilah, p. 3,—General Cunningham, 134, 135, and 221, vol. II—Syed Ahmad.
35.—Khas Mehal—Syed Ahmad.
36.—Nila Chatri, p. 3,—Syed Ahmad.
37.—Shir Mandil, p. 73,—Syed Ahmad.
38.—Kila Kona Masjid, p. 74,—Cunningham, II, p. 222—Syed Ahmad.
39.—Kabul gate, p. 72,—Cunningham, II, p. 220—Syed Ahmad.
Plate IX. 40.—Firuz Shah's Kotela, p. 1,—Syed Ahmad; Cunningham, II, p. 163.
41.—Asoka's pillars, p. 2,—Cunningham, II, 161 to 168.
Plate VIII. 42.—Kushak Shikar, p. 3—71,—Cunningham, II, p. 168.
Plate VIII. 43.—Chauburji, p. 71.
Plate IX. 44.—Bhubhulinga, p. 71.
45.—Inscribed Masjid south of Firuz Shah's Kotela, p. 72.
46.—City gate near Purana Kilah, p. 72
47.—Inscribed Masjid near above, p. 73.
48.—Kos Minars, p. 73.
Plate VII. 49.—Masjid Kutb ul Islam, p. 27,—Cunningham, II, 184 to 189—Syed Ahmad.
50.—Iron pillar, p. p. 28—57,—Cunningham, II, 169 to 175—Syed Ahmad.
51.—Unfinished Minar. pp. 62 & 63,—Cunningham, II, pp. 205 & 206—Syed Ahmad.

52.—Great Minar or Lât, p. 46,—Cunningham, II, pp. 189 to 203—Syed Ahmad.
53.—Kushak sabz, p. 28.
54.—Iltitmish's tomb, p. 60,—Cunningham, II, p. 204—Syed Ahmad.
55.—Tomb of Alauddin Khilji, p. 77,—Syed Ahmad.
56.—Alai Darwâza, p. 62,—Cunningham, II, 204, 205—Syed Ahmad.
57.—Imam Zamin's tomb—Syed Ahmad.
58.—Tomb of Muhammad Kuli Khan—Syed Ahmad.
59.—Rajon Ka Baen—Syed Ahmad.
60.—Masjid and tomb of Maulâna Jamâl, p. 62—Syed Ahmad.
61.—Tomb of Ghiasuddin Balban—Syed Ahmad.
62.—Shamshi Hauz and buildings near it—Syed Ahmad.
63.—Dargâh Kutbuddin Bakhtiâr Kâki and Masjid—Syed Ahmad.
64.—Moti Masjid Kutb—Syed Ahmad.
65.—Tombs, &c., near it—Syed Ahmad.
66.—Adham Khan's Tomb—Syed Ahmad.
67.—Jog Mâyâ—Syed Ahmad.
Plate I. 68.—Lâlkot of Anangpâl, p. 6,—Cunningham, II, p. p. 180 & 182.
69.—Alauddin's extension of Lâlkot, p. 62.
Plate I. 70.—Kila Ray Pithora, p. 60,—Cunningham, p. 183, 184.
71.—Tomb of Hâji Baba Rosebeh—Syed Ahmad.
72.—Sultan Gâri's tomb, p. 59—Syed Ahmad.
73.—Hauz Khâs and Firûz Shah's Tomb, p. 65—Syed Ahmad.
74.—Idgah, near Hauz Khâs, p. 65.
75.—Ruins on ridge from Sultan Gâri's tomb, p. 65.
76.—Kistvaens, p. 65.
77.—Mahipâlpur, p. 66,—and Cunningham, II, p. 154.
78.—Malcha, p. 66.
79.—Badi Manzil, or Bije Mandil—Syed Ahmad.
Plate X. 80.—Masjid Begampur, Syed Ahmad—and Plate X of this report for plan.
81.—Moth ki Masjid, p. 67—Syed Ahmad.
82.—Tirhonja—Syed Ahmad.
83.—Tomb of Mubârakpur-Kotela—Syed Ahmad.
84.—Birij Kasa Hazrat Fatima—Syed Ahmad. Tomb of Safdar Jang, p. 67—Syed Ahmad.

85.—Khairpoor unknown tomb, p. 68.
86.—Khairpoor Masjid and Tomb, p. 68,—Syed Ahmad.
87.—Sikandar Lodi's Tomb, p. 69,—Syed Ahmad.
88.—Jantar Mantar, p. 69,—Syed Ahmad.
89.—Kadam Shariff—Syed Ahmad.
90.—Mahal Bhuli Bhatiâri—Syed Ahmad.
91.—Masjid Sarhindi—Syed Ahmad.
92.—Nigambod Ghât, p. 4,—Cunningham, II, p. 136.

Plate X. 93.—Buildings in Fort of Delhi, p. 70,—and Syed Ahmad and Cunningham, II p. 225 *et seq.*
94.—Jâma Masjid, p. 69,—and Syed Ahmad.
95.—Kâli Masjid or Kalân Masjid, p. 69—Cunningham, II, 220, 221, and Syed Ahmad.
96.—Dargâh Shah Turkoman—Syed Ahmad.
97.—Masjid Akbarâbâdi (no longer exists)—Syed Ahmad.
98.—Soneli Masjid, p. 70,—and Syed Ahmad.
99.—Zinat-ul-Masâjid, and Syed Ahmad.
100.—Sharif-uddaola's Masjid—Syed Ahmad.
101.—Fatehpuri Masjid, p. 70,—and Syed Ahmad.
102.—Panjâbi Katra Masjid—Syed Ahmad.
103.—Fakhr-ul-Masâjid—Syed Ahmad.
104.—Madrissa Ghazi-ud-din—Syed Ahmad.
105.—Soneli Masjid Kotwalee, p. 70,—and Syed Ahmad.
106.—Auckpur and Surajkund, Cunningham, II, p. 152—Syed Ahmad.
107.—Bridge between Selimgurh and citadel, p. 72,—Selimgurh, Cunningham, II, 223, Syed Ahmad.
108.—Jahân-panah, p. 65,—Cunningham, II, 218.
109.—Delhi Shirshah—Cunningham, II, 222.
110.—Firuzabad—Cunningham, II, 223.
111.—Siri, p. 66,—Cunningham, II, 207 to 212.
112.—Kilokari, p. 76—Syed Ahmad.
113.—Fluted old well, p. 64.

Before concluding, I will only notice what at least is a very remarkable coincidence between the positions of various important features in the plan of the great temple now called Kutb Masjid and the positions of Buddha in his performances round the bodhi tree, as related by Bishop Bigandet in his life of Gaudama.

The positions successively taken up by Buddha in reference to the bodhi tree were—

1st.—10	fathoms	to the	north-east.
2nd.—2	"	"	north.
3rd.—13	"	"	north-west.
4th.—30	"	"	east.
5th.—33	"	"	south-east.
6th.—40	"	"	south.

Let a point P* now be assumed in the Kutb temple, near the centre of the north inner dome, within the inner inclosure, it will then be found that the positions of the oldest and most important features stand relatively to this as below :—

North-east dome	...	70 feet.
North dome	...	13 "
North-west dome	...	90 "
East dome	...	80 "
Minar ...	...	200 "
Outer south gate	..	230 "

Of these, the north-east and the north-west domes are on plain pillars, and certainly very old. The east dome is on ornamental pillars, and may not be of the same age as the north-east and north-west domes; the Minar, which must, as shown, date back to the earliest period and be contemporary with the oldest portions of the temple; the east gate must be very old also; the north dome, as it stands, is Muhammadan, but the position of the original one must have been the same. It will be noticed that the south-east dome, on pillars which only date to Anangpal's reign, does not enter into this calculation at all.

To correspond strictly with the numbers given above, the relative distances of the various parts from the point P ought to have been—

North-east	...	...	64
North ...	. .	...	13
North-west	...	...	80
East ..	...	...	195
South-east	...	...	200
South ...	...	...	240

which does not much differ from the actual distances detailed above, except in the east, where the difference is very great; but, as remarked, the east dome may have been built afterwards, and indeed the difference in the state of its pillars to

* Plate VI.

those supporting the north-east and north-west domes tends to favor the supposition.

The speculation is, I admit, very bold to consider the temple to have been originally a Buddhist structure, appropriated afterwards and added to by the Hindus, and lastly by the Muhammadans; but the coincidence is so remarkable, that, wild though it is, the speculation is too tempting to be dismissed without some notice.

The legend relates that while Buddha was at the south-east corner, or position, the serpent king stood erect with expanded hoods over Buddha to protect him from the inclemency of the weather; this circumstance happened nowhere else, and is very remarkable, and the relative site in the Kutb too is marked by what is certainly very remarkable—the Minar itself.

The following notes on the styles of architecture used in Delhi may not be out of place in a report like this. At the outset the subject may be divided under two heads, Hindu and Muhammadan. Of the former, no examples exist perfect, but from the remnants in the Kutb structures and Sultan Gâri's tomb, some idea of it, as applied to religious purposes, may be formed. Of Hindu architecture, as applied to civil purposes, no remains exist.

The principal features appear to be a colonnade of pillars, piled two and three on each other round a rectangle, inclosed by a wall pierced at intervals by openings. The colonnade need not necessarily have been continuous, but may have been broken up at intervals, forming detached shrines at intervals; these shrines may further have been converted into cells by having walls built between the pillars, as is frequently seen in later examples elsewhere, but the principle is the same, of a series of shrines, ranged in regular geometrical figure round a great central temple. It is true no traces of a great central temple have yet been found in the Kutb, but one certainly existed in what is now Sultan Gâri's tomb, and exists to this day; and, as before stated, I am most sanguine that, on a careful examination of the inner courtyard, after stripping the irregular layer of stones which Muhammadan barbarism has spread, traces will be discovered of some central shrine.

The openings in the surrounding walls need not necessarily have been all equal nor all equally spaced, but they must follow one definite regular law; indeed, the most certain

characteristic of Hindu architecture, as exemplified in the Kutb, is the rigid adherence to definite laws and the rejection of all false ornamentation.

The pillars forming the colonnade appear to have been arranged in sets of 2 or 3 over each other—never single—indeed, where a single pillar is of itself high enough for the purpose, its height is broken up by a strongly marked line, whether in the shape of a rectangular block or in the more pleasing shape of an elaborate cornice.

This is a very unique and remarkable feature, and the Hindu architects took special pains to bring it into notice, by repeating this line inside and outside in every possible way. Whenever they required as support a pillar more than 5 or 6 diameters in height, they adopted this expedient, and emphasised it to the utmost of their power; contrasting this with some modern and pseudo-classical styles, where attenuated pillars with capitals and bases to imitate classical styles are used, there can be no doubt that the Hindu architects have solved the question how to use pillars more than 5 or 6 diameters in height in the most appropriate, honest, and elegant manner.

This mode of solution has been arrived at also by Gothic architects whose bundles of thin reed-like pillars, with the ties at intervals looking like a bundle of reeds tied up, is merely a repetition of the Hindu tier, or tier-pillars, with blocks interposed in a different form. But whereas no special law governs the positions of the ties in Gothic architecture, the positions of the blocks in Hindu architecture is regulated by a simple and elegant law. This law consists in making the spaces between the blocks terms of a geometrical series.

The series, however, was not in all cases so simple. In the case of the Kutb Minar, the storeys are spaced by a law that depends on series within series. It may be called for shortness an arithmetico-geometrical series, as I have previously described.

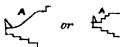
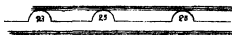
No Hindu pillar exceeds 5 or perhaps 6 diameters in height. They do not in the plain ones slope from bottom upwards.

The tall fluted pillars in Sultan Gâri's tomb are exceptions, but they appear to have been designed at a time when Grecian or Greco-Bactrian influence in the arts had not died out. It will perhaps not be disputed that the Greek

colonists after Alexander's expedition into India exercised a remarkable and powerful influence on Indian arts. This influence is palpably felt in the sculptures disinterred at Mathura and elsewhere by General Cunningham, and appears gradually to have declined, after perhaps a temporary use, during the Greco-Bactrian ascendancy in Mathura. I have on other grounds inferred the priority in date of the original structure which, in its present form, is called Sultan Gâri's tomb over the original of the Kutb Masjid, and I now beg to submit that the inference then made is most strongly supported by this peculiarity in the style of its pillars.

Why a certain combination of forms should appear beautiful and another ugly, depends on laws regulating the human mind, which are not known, though it is possible in future they may be discovered. This much is, however, worthy of notice, that the same expedient which, as adopted by Gothic architects, has proved successful, is not the less successful as adopted by Indians.

Hindu architects of pre-Muhammadan period appear to have used mortar as little as possible, except on the roof, to keep out water effectually, and in the floor as a substratum, they used it nowhere else; in their walls my examination has failed to discover anything like mortar of lime or sûrkhi; whether we take the walls of the Lalkot or citadel of Anangpâl, or the walls of the Thakurdwâra" (now Masjid) of Kutb, or Sultan Gâri's tomb, not a particle of mortar can be found used as a binding material; it is only used as a waterproof cement, and I am doubtful if even the coating of cement on the domes may not be the addition of the Muhammadans. In the walls of the fort the core is built of rubble set in mud or reddish earth. In the temples, the same, wherever the walls are thick enough to have a core, but generally it appears that long headers were used of dressed stone, penetrating through beyond the core, from either side, and the interstices were filled with rubble carefully laid in earth. The external faces of their walls (except the walls of the fort) were of carefully dressed stones, laid without any cementing material, and secured to each other by iron clamps. It is this absence of all material liable to decay or to support vegetable growth that has enabled structures of the Hindu period to exist almost as fresh as when first built, where not wilfully destroyed.

The ornamentation used by the Hindus consisted of bands of cornice and carving, the first of a peculiar shape, from which the curious looking turned up cornices of Tibetan and Indo-Chinese architecture appear to have been derived; the form is

the projecting pieces, A, being not continuous, but isolated pieces, as in front view.

With this cornice were used massive plain mouldings, and sometimes over it a band of sculpture, surmounted by other thin lines of mouldings and cornices. Sculpture and carvings were used in profusion in internal ornamentation, but not always; the roof stones, whether flat or circular, were carved sometimes in simple patterns, sometimes with complicated very elaborated designs and figures.

It is impossible without a profusion of pictorial illustrations to give any definite sketch of the Hindu ornamentation as represented in the example at the Kutb. The tomb of Sultan Gâri (as it is now termed) is much less ornate, which may indeed be inferred from its priority of date; there the ornamentation is confined to bands of simple patterns (such as lozenge) and cornices of the peculiar style noticed before, and the roof stones or dome stones are also plainly but elegantly cut into simple, but nevertheless peculiarly graceful shapes. It would appear further, that a bold cornice stone or eave once adorned the original Hindu structures, of which no remains now exist, but the existence of which originally may be inferred with certainty from the existence of brackets in the capitals of pillars, that could have served no other purpose but the one just indicated. Fragments of slabs which bear a most striking resemblance to the broad projecting cornices as used in examples elsewhere, have been exhumed at the Kutb, though at the time not having seen them used anywhere,

I could assign no use for them in the Kutb structures. Such eaves are used to the present day, and certainly produce an amount of shadow very agreeable to the eye in this land of glaring sunshine, and which we look for in vain in the styles of more northern countries. An eave over a closed-up window in the west outer face of the wall of the Kutb Masjid, which is evidently original Hindu, will give an idea how far the main eave at the top must once have projected.

Turning now to Muhammadan architecture, I will take the liberty of using General Cunningham's arrangement.

The different styles may be classed under the following heads :—

1st.—Indo-Pathân or Ghori, with ogee pointed arches in overlapping courses, high front walls to masjids.

2nd.—Khilji, or ornate Pathân horseshoe pointed arches, in radiating courses, elaborate ornament.

3rd.—Tughlak or stucco Pathân, straight pointed arches, sloping walls, plastered domes on low necks.

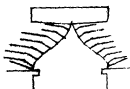
4th.—Afghân, domes on tall octagonal necks.

5th.—Early Mughal, domes on tall cylindrical necks.

6th.—Late Mughal, domes stone mosaic.

It would be difficult to describe more graphically the different styles introduced and elaborated by the Muhammadans in and about Delhi. It remains only to give instances and notice such other minor characteristics as occur.

1st, Ghori or Indo-Pathan examples—Kutb Masjid, Iltitmish's tomb.

The most prominent feature of this style is the high front wall to the masjids, and arches of overlapping stones. As on their first appearance in India, the Muhammadans were necessarily forced to employ Hindu workmen, who did not know how to build an arch of radiating stones, the arches of this period are necessarily of overlapping stones in courses; but it is a noticeable fact which must be carefully borne in mind, that the Muhammadans did know to build true arches, for the courses of stones forming the arch are not all horizontal, but gradually slope, the slope increasing as the courses go upwards, never, however, becoming large enough to represent the correct direction of the joint as it would be in a true arch. The following rough diagram will explain this better :—

The importance of bearing this in mind is clear, for it furnishes us with the most certain criterion by which to judge whether an arch of overlapping stones was constructed by the Hindus without Muhammadan superintendence, or whether it was constructed by Hindu workmen under Muhammadan guidance.

In a true Hindoo arch, it does happen that the top stone, which would be the key stone in a true arch, is cut with sloping beds, thus, but in no single instance do the beds of the other courses slope, with the slope gradually increasing in the higher ones.

The front wall of the Kutb Masjid is most elaborately ornamented by carvings, but this does not appear to form an essential part of the style of the period. The ornamentation is exclusively Hindu in all respects, but the insertion of Arabic or other writing in lieu of geometrical figures or flowers or other ornamental devices is a feature most essentially Muhammadan, and never attempted by the Hindus at any period. General Cunningham's description of the style seizes the one great point, wherein this style differs from all others.

The high front wall out of all proportion to everything else, is the great feature of masjids of this period, and represents immense physical power, capable of achieving mighty results, but incapable of being sustained for any lengthened period, and unaccompanied by anything like high mental or moral attainments; they are, in fact, the creations of a race, strong, impetuous, incapable of sustained exertion, and impressed not with any high moral feelings or mental endowments, but by an overweening self-conceit, and our admiration in beholding their remains is the admiration which great physical power always extorts.

In Hindu structures what we admire is, not the expression of defiant strength, for such an expression is not conveyed by any Hindu structure I have ever seen, but the patient labour and the immense amount of careful thought bestowed on them.

When the Muhammadans first permanently occupied a portion of India, they found a ready-made civilization, and ready-made remains of such civilization; the artists and architects they employed had been trained in the Hindu

school, and knew their work; the style, therefore, of this early period is a combination of Muhammadan design and Hindu workmanship with, in most instances, Hindu materials. But this state of things could not last. Hindu materials would naturally become exhausted in time, and artists of the old Hindu school would become more rare, while at the same time the Musalmân population increasing both by immigration and by natural increase, Muhammadan workmen would begin to make their appearance to supply the falling off of men of the Hindu school. Hindus too would, in the interval, have learnt a good deal of what was known to Muhammadans in construction.

The result of this is the Alai Darwâza; it is properly only a transition style, but so beautiful is the workmanship, the last effort of Hindu workmen, that it may well take rank as a style in itself. Another example of this is Khizr Khan's Masjid, or the Jumaat Khan Masjid, near Nizamuddin's tomb.

But even in Alauddin's lifetime this style may be said to have passed away, for the other structures erected by him belong to the third class or stucco Pathân. This is the first genuine Muhammadan style as seen at Delhi—Muhammadan both in design and execution—and here, as in the first style, the ruling expression of the buildings is physical strength, but we lose the aspiring expression that is conveyed by the first style, and its place is supplied by an expression of stability: the nation had, in fact, undergone a change in the interval. It was no longer composed of men eager to spread their religion all over the world, or to subjugate other nations. It had formed for it a great empire, and was busy consolidating it, and the structures of the period correctly express the feelings of the builders. This style is not a transition one, and with immaterial changes, we can trace it from Alauddin's time to the time of the Ludis, a period of nearly 200 years.

In this interval a change appears slowly to have been taking place, by which the structures, without losing their other characteristics, were having the element of beauty superadded. Thought was gradually being used more and more, and at the close of the two centuries, it really does appear that the Muhammadans had hit upon a style of their own, that introduced more of beauty and less of mass than they had done before; the buildings were not mere mountains

of rubble and mortar; first small brackets, pendants, and other small decorations came to be made of stones exquisitely carved, and gradually larger parts were made of dressed and carved stone, but the principal, the ruling, feature of these was the harmony of colour. The carvedforms were not mere imitations of Hindu ornamentation, but in an entirely new style, representing in a manner very remarkable the gradual assimilation (if such an expression may be used) of the Hindu and Muhammadan elements in the empire. We can trace the development of this style from Kamâli Jamâli's tomb and Moth-ke Masjid to its culmination in the beautiful Masjid of Purana Kilah called Kila Kona Mosque.

What the style would have finally come to it is difficult to imagine, but its career was cut short by the Mughal irruption.

The Mughal dominion, for all architectural purposes, may be said to begin from Akbar's time. Baber, it is true, established himself in India, and even erected some buildings before this time, but his power and that of his son lasted too short a period, and the period was too stormy for any permanent impression on the arts then existing. The style during Humâyun's troubled reign and right up to Akbar's accession continued, what General Cunningham styles, Afghan or coloured Pathan. From Akbar's accession commences the early Mughal style.

Akbar himself made Agra his capital, and Delhi did not again become the capital till Shahjahan's time; accordingly examples of the early Mughal style are not to be found in Delhi.

The late Mughal style begins with Shahjahan. Modern Delhi is full of examples of this style.

The report now closes; it is by no means an exhaustive account of Delhi: it only attempts to supply what is wanting in previous accounts. All descriptions or notices that can be found in other published works (at the head of which stand General Cunningham's report and Syad Ahmad's Asâr us Sanâdîd) have been rigidly excluded from this to avoid unnecessarily enlarging its bulk. As it is, the report is long, and may have been reduced by a better arrangement of the subjects and reasonings than I have been able to devise, and doubtless there is great room for improvement everywhere. I can only plead in extenuation my want of knowledge, and the necessity I have been under

of opposing and disproving hitherto received opinions on important points; a task rendered none the easier by the great intricacy of the subject. To write an exhaustive report on Delhi demands an intimate knowledge of all previous researches, of the minutest details of all history and mythology in any way connected with the subject, and of the civilization of the various people who have in any way exercised an influence on the arts, as shown by existing remains in the place; and last, but not least, a thorough knowledge of the languages employed by these people. I cannot pretend to lay claim to more than the veriest fractional part of this immense amount of knowledge.

Before concluding, I wish to acknowledge the obligations I am under to General Cunningham. Although aware that my views were opposed to his, he has nevertheless, with a spirit of great liberality, not only given me permission to state my views, but has assisted me with his advice and sustained me by encouragement; and in opposing his views I have not forgotten the distance between him—the foremost of the highest authorities on Indian Archæology—and myself, a learner of the science of which he is master. I have only tried to do what, rightly or wrongly, I consider a duty.

J. D. BEGLAR,

Assistant Archæological Survey of India.

REPORT ON AGRA, WITH NOTICES OF SOME OF THE NEIGHBOURING PLACES, BY MR. A. C. L. CARLLEYLE, ASSISTANT, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.

I.—HISTORICAL NOTICES.

1.—Hindu Period.

Mere conjecture as to what Agra was during the Hindu period, previous to the first Muhammadan occupation of it by the later Pathans and first Mughals, may be of but little value, but it may eventually prove to be of some use simply to record what may be gathered from traditions, and the writings of former or older Anglo-Indian Archæologists, on the subject.

Agra is the Hindu name of the place, *Agrah* the later Muhammadanised form of the name, and the purely Muhammadan name of the place (*now disused*) is "*Akbarabad,*" which, of course, only dates from the time of Akbar (A. D. 170).

A belief appears to have been entertained by several former writers of note, on subjects connected with Indian History and Archæology (such as Tod), that the Agra of the Hindu period was originally settled by, and named after, the "*Agarwal*" race, a tribe of whom remnants are still found at Agaroha, to the west of Delhi, and in the region of Bundelkhand, and certain parts of Rajputana, and also in a place called "*Aggar*" in Malwa. If so, and they had Kings of their own, they must either have been prior to the ancient sovereigns (of *another* race) of the kingdom of *Mathura*, which comprised Agra, or else they must have been posterior to them: or, on the other hand, if they were contemporary, then the *Agarwal* chiefs of Agra must have been subject to the sovereigns of Mathura.

There is little doubt, however, that whatever Agra was—whether great or little—it must, even if it had such an existence during the Hindu period, have been a place of much *more modern* origin, and of comparatively little consequence, as compared to time-honoured Mathura of ancient fame.

It is not even yet satisfactorily decided what *was* the *real* origin of the name of Agra.

Of the several theories extant on this subject, I may at least mention the *three* following:—

(1.)—That it was once the capital of an ancient Indian King called "*Aggrames*" [quasi, *Ag-gram-eswar*, or *Ag-Rameswar*] mentioned by Quintus Curtius.

(2.)—Either that it was named after the "*Agarwal*" tribe, or that the *Agarwals* and *Agra* both derived their name from one and the same source, but independently, namely, from the locality, supposing it to have been previously known as *Agar*, or *Agwar*, whence *Agwara*, contracted to *Agwra* and *Agra*, and *Agwar-wal*, contracted to *Agurwal*.

(3.)—That the name was derived from the *saline efflorescence* from the soil, and the brackish nature of the spring water in the locality, as there is a Hindu word "*agar*," signifying a *salt pit*,—and the *actual* saline character of the soil about Agra somewhat bears out this idea.

Now, to consider these conjectures seriatim:—if indeed the king called *Aggrames* was connected with Agra at all (which even is in *no* way certain), and if his name contained that of the town, then his name must have been *Ag-gram-esa*, for *Ag-gram-eswar*, that is, the *lord of the town of fire*, and the name of his capital would be *Ag-gram*, that is, *fire town*. This interpretation would lead us to consider whether the *Ag-raj* of the Puranas might not have been a sovereign of what is now Agra, and perhaps the same as the "*Aggrames* of Quintus Curtius.

Ag-raj would be a very likely founder of a place called "*Agra*," for *Ag-raj* (*i. e.*, *Ag-Raja*) simply signifies *fire-king*, or king of fire; that is either one whose race was fabled to have been produced from the *element of fire*, in the same manner as certain Rajput tribes are fabled to be descended from the *sun* and others from the *moon*, and the existence of four *Agnikula* (or *fire-race*) tribes of Rajputs in India is well known, or else a king who was a chief of fire-worshippers, or a king of a place called *Ag* or *Agr*. *Ag* is only

the modern Hindu contraction of the Sanskrit word *Agni*, and therefore *Ag-raj* (as the name of a king) would be nearly synonimous with *Agnimitra*. But *Ag-raj* might also signify the *raj*, or *realm*, or *kingdom* of "*Ag*," or fire; and may thus, also, have been the original name of *Agra*.

If, on the other hand, the original name of the place were *Agwara*, or *Agwar*, it would signify *an enclosure for fire*,—the place of fire,—a place or quarter set apart for the sacred fire, or fire-worship.

Lastly, if the name of Agra were derived from *agar*, a *salt pit*, it may well be asked why such a term should be specially applied to it, for it would be still more applicable to several places not very far off, such as Jaleysur, &c., and equally applicable to Mathura and the neighbourhood of Delhi. But there is another origin for the name of *Agra;* for "*agr* or *agra* (derived from the Sanskrit) signifies *prior*, or *first*, whence *Agra* might signify the *prior*, or *first*, *city*. Finally, *agar*, in Sanskrit, signifies a *house* or *habitation*.

With regard to a *later* or *middle* Hindu period, I have a suspicion that the *Guhila*, or *Gehlote* dynasty of Mewar, may once have held sway over Agra. At least upwards of *two thousand* small silver coins were dug up at Agra in 1869, all bearing an inscription, in an ancient western form of the Sanskrit character, which I read plainly as *Guhila Sri*, or *Sri Guhila*. These might possibly be coins of *Sri Gohadit*, or *Guhila*, the founder of the *Gehlote* dynasty of Mewar, A. D. 750, if it were not that the characters which compose the inscription on these coins appear to me to be of *too ancient* a form for such a late date as A. D. 750. Could these coins, then, possibly be attributable to the earlier *Goha*, or *Grahaditya*, of the same race, the son of *Siladitya*, and the first of the *Gehlote*, or *Sesodia*, branch of the expelled dynasty of Balhara, Balabhi, or Saurashtra, the exact date of whose reign is not certain, but who probably lived about the sixth century of the Christian era? The sway of the sovereigns of Saurashtra was at one time at any rate, almost extensive enough to have extended to Agra. It is, of course, just possible, though not very probable, that these two thousand coins of *Guhila Sri* may have been brought to Agra by some ancient traveller, or emigrant, from either Mewar or Saurashtra, in the time and during the reign of that king. But this is a mere supposition, and it is much more probable that these coins

were current in Agra during the reign of *Guhila;* for it is quite possible that *other* coins of the same king, or dynasty, may have, at times, been found at Agra which I have not seen.

General Cunningham* figured and described an ancient Narwar coin bearing the name of *Sri Guhila Pati;* and although the style of the coin is very different from those of *Guhila Sri* found at Agra, still the style of the characters in the inscription on the Narwar coin bears a certain degree of resemblance to the style of the characters in the inscription on the Agra coins. But *four* coins of a remarkably *similar* type and style of *Pasupati,* the son of *Toramana,* were obtained by General Cunningham in the same part of the country; and he conjectured, therefore, that this coin of *Guhila Pati* belonged to a member of the *same* family(*i. e.,* that of Toramana and Pasupati). Now *Toramana* is believed to have reigned between A. D. 260 and 285, and *Pasupati* between A. D. 285 and 310. If, therefore, *Guhila Pati* was a member of the *same* family, —say, a son, or immediate descendant of Pasupati—then *Guhila Pati* must have reigned in the *fourth* or *fifth* century of the Christian era. Lastly, if the *Guhila Sri,* of the coins found at Agra, might be *identifiable* with the *Sri Guhila Pati* of *Narwar,* then the *Guhila Sri* of the Agra coins must also have lived in the *fourth* or *fifth* century, and would, therefore, be *anterior* by *two* centuries to the *Goha,* or *Grahaditya* of the Gehlote Sesodia line. And I must say this *older* date corresponds *better* with the style of the *characters* in the inscription on the Agra coins.

Again, as bearing on the *other* side of the argument, I have now to mention that, on the right bank of the river, about three miles above the fort, there is the site of an ancient garden palace called the garden and palace of *Raja Bhoj!* Certain intelligent educated Hindus in Agra say that it is traditionally held to have been a palace of the *Raja Bhoj* of Malwa of the *fifth* to *sixth* century; but at any rate *all agree* as to the fact that this garden palace of Raja Bhoj was in existence *previous* to the Muhammadan conquest of this part of the country. I am, however, inclined to think that the Raja Bhoj who built this

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* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal—1865—p. 122.

garden palace at Agra may have been the Bhoja, the successor of *Guhila*, or *Sri Gohadit*, of the Gehlote dynasty of Mewar. If that might be the case, then this would account for the two thousand and odd small silver coins of *Guhila Sri* which were dug up at Agra in 1869; and we might thus suppose that *Guhila Sri* and his successor *Bhoja* once ruled over Agra.

But when we talk of the existence of an *ancient* Agra during the *Hindu* period, are we sure that the Agra which *now is*, or *as it has been since the Muhammadan* period, is *at all* on the *same* site as the *older* Agra of the Hindu period? May not that more ancient Hindu Agra have been on quite a *different* site from the present city? May it not, like Delhi, have been removed to a *fresh site* with each new or succeeding dynasty, or in consequence of changes which took place in the course of the river Jamna?

Nothing—especially in India—has tended more to cause the gradual shifting or removal of the sites of cities situated on or near rivers, than the *changes* which have frequently taken place in the *course* of the Indian *rivers*, some of which changes of river courses have been effected gradually, trending or eating away the banks of a river in one particular direction, others with fickle variations, sometimes on one side and sometimes on another, and others again occurring suddenly during some excessive flood of water in a river.

Now, about ten or eleven miles to the south-east of Agra, there is an ancient deserted bed of the river Jamna, now dry, but which is even still occasionally partly flooded during the rainy season, when the river is high. This old bed of the river is about a mile and a half in width in some parts, and is probably somewhere about twenty miles in length between its two furthest extremities. The road from Agra to Fatehabad *crosses* this ancient bed of the Jamna as an arrow crosses a bow, at the distance of about ten and a half miles from Agra, towards the south-east, near a village called *Kolara*, situated on the *old left* bank of this ancient river bed. From Kolara, this old bed runs both eastwards and westwards, but divides off into two branches south-eastwards. It extends from Kolara to two villages called *Thanoura* and *Bisan*, where it meets the *present* course of the river Jamna; but it branches off further southwards to a village called "*Nar*," where it also meets the *present* course

of the river in *that* direction. How far it extends in the other direction from Kolara westwards, I do not exactly know, but apparently several miles. We have thus, here, an old bed of the river Jamna, about a mile and a half in width, more or less, and extending for a distance of probably somewhere about twenty miles in length. Judging by natural appearances, I should certainly be of opinion that this old deserted river bed was occupied by the waters of the river Jamna, and was the course pursued by it during the existence of the ancestors of the present Hindu race of inhabitants; that is, during the early part of the Hindu period. Now, if that were the case, and if an ancient city of Agra existed at that period, then it would probably have been situated on the banks of that ancient bed of the river, ten miles distant to the *south* of the *present* city of Agra, and NOT where the more modern city of *Agrah*, or *Akbarabad*, is *now* situated. For traces of the *original* site of *ancient* Hindu Agra, therefore, we must, I think, look in the neighbourhood of the locality I have indicated above, and *not* anywhere within the range of the present city.

The *fort* of Akbar at Agra has been supposed by some to have been built on the site of a more *ancient Hindu* work; but this is doubtful.

The *Bâdalgarh* is by some supposed to have been either on or near the *site* of the present fort, while others say that it was on the inhabited high ground within the city of Agra, now called the *Lodi-Khan-ka-Tila*. Apparently, the *Bâdalgarh* must originally have been founded by Hindus, but was appropriated by, added to, and strengthened by, the *Lodi* sovereigns.*

2.—MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

The house of Lodi appears to have been the *first of the Muhammadan* dynasties of India who made Agra their occasional residence. Before the time of the Lodis, Agra is said to have constituted a perganah of Biâna.

Sikandar bin Bahlol Lodi died at Agra in A. H. 923 (A. D. 1515). It might be supposed, therefore, that he was *interred* at Agra; but I have not been able to discover

* *Note by General Cunningham.*—The name of Bâdalgarh is almost certainly a Hindu one, as the lower outwork of Gwâliar Fort is also called Bâdalgarh, and is said to have been built by Bâdal or Bâdar Sinh, the brother of Raja Kalyân Mall, about A. D. 1475.

his *tomb*, although I have made diligent search for it.* He is said to have strengthened and added to the fort of Bâdalgarh.

Of the residence of the Lodi family at Agra, the Bâdalgarh no longer exists, but there are two vestiges remaining, namely, the *Bâradari* (palace) near Sikandra, and the *Lodi-Khan-ka-Tila*. The *Baradari* was built, as a palace, by Sikandar Lodi in A. D. 1495. It is a square building of red sandstone, 142 feet 6 inches each side, and comprises two storeys with a vault below; the ground floor contains about forty chambers or apartments.† Each corner of the building is surmounted by a short ornamental octagonal tower. This building is commonly known as the Mausoleum of Begam Mariam, because Akbar interred his Portuguese Christian Queen Mary here. Her tomb is in the vault below, and there is also a white marble cenotaph in the centre of the upper storey. The Bâradari is now occupied by a portion of the establishment of the "Orphan Asylum" of Agra. It was from *Sikandar Lodi* that the suburb near Agra, called *Sikandra*, received its name,—an origin now nearly lost sight of by most people, who hear only of the splendour of the tomb of Akbar which is at Sikandra, and which alone has tended to make the locality so famous. The *Lodi-Khan-ka-Tila* (or *Lodi Khan mound)*, situated in Agra, itself is, as its name implies, a mere *mound* now, composed of the *debris* of former edifices. There are, however, still some few remains of the foundations of old walls visible on the spot. It is now quite built over with modern houses and streets, and is, except in its name, undistinguishable from the rest of the city of Agra. Some say that the *Lodi-Khan-ka-Tila* occupies the site of the Bâdalgarh.

I am, however, doubtful as to whether this *latter* spot was *really* the site of a residence of one of the *royal* family of Lodi. From the name *Lodi-Khan-ka-Tila*, I should rather be inclined to suppose it may have been a residence of *Khan Khanan Lodi*, who was a famous general under both Bâbar and Humâyun. There was also a *Khan Jahan Lodi*, a general in the service of Jahangir.

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* *Note by General Cunningham.*—Syad Ahmad places the tomb of Sikandar Lodi at Delhi, near the Mausoleum of Safdar Jang. The assignment is very probable, as the building certainly belongs to the Lodi Pathan style.

† See Plate XI for a plan of this curious building.

Agra was a royal residence in the time of Ibrahim Lodi, as well as of his father Sikandar. Bâbar took possession of Agra (as well as Delhi) in May 1526, after having defeated Ibrahim, son of Sikandar Lodi.

Bâbar is said to have had a garden palace on the other or south-east side of the Jamna from Agra, nearly opposite the Taj. I have examined that locality, and I find that the space on the river bank immediately and exactly opposite the Taj was formerly occupied by a garden, or garden residence, called *Mehtâb Khan ka Bagh*, or the garden residence of *Mehtâb Khan;* and the ground is still known by that name. It was on this ground that Shah Jahan is said to have intended to build a mausoleum for himself, which was to have corresponded to the Taj across the river opposite. The former extent of this garden, on the river front, is indicated by two ornamental corner towers, surmounted by cupolas, on the bank of the river, one of which is in a pretty perfect condition, and the other in a state of ruin.

The distance between the two towers gives a frontage of about 960 feet, while the garden extended back 1,000 feet. Nearly at the back, or rear, of this site of the garden residence of Mehtâb Khan, but a little to the west, there is a small village commonly called "*Kachpura,*" but a former name of which, I believe, was *Shekhpura*. In the centre of this village there stands a lofty ruined building, which towers high above the houses of the villagers. This is an ancient Masjid of Humâyun's time of peculiar form. This building is properly a *Masid*, and not a *Masjid*, as it has *no* side-wing walls, and it has no *taj*, or outer projection, behind the central *kibla* apse.* It has one deep but narrow, great central recess or compartment entered by a high arch, and domed in the centre with but one *apse* or small recess in its west wall. At each side of this central compartment the building is lower and broken up into smaller chambers, four on each side. This Masjid is 93 feet in length by about 35 feet in depth. The domes are low, and are not perceptible exteriorly. On entering the central compartment, I found two inscriptions, one on the west wall, over the *kibla* apse, and the other on the left side wall. There had been another slab of stone with an inscription on the right side wall, but it was taken away some time ago by a

* See Plate XII for a plan of this masjid.

Muhammadan to put in some other Masjid, from whence it unfortunately fell into the river Jamna and was lost. The central inscription reads as follows :—

محمد همايون شه عرصه دين • كه بنياد قدرش بود فوق گردون

بفرمان عالي وحكم رفعيش • مرتب شد اين فرش و اين مقف ميمون

بتاريخ اتمام اين بيت مشعر • شه عرصه دين محمد هميون

ناظمه و راقمه شتاب [illegible] غفر ذنبه

٩٣٧

The following is a *translation* of the inscription :—

"This auspicious floor and roof were built by the powerful decree and command of Muhammad Humâyun, the Sovereign of the Domain of the Faith (the foundation of which may it be exalted as the heavens.) The date of the completion of this [building] is indicated hereunder. The Sovereign of the Region of the Faith, Muhammad Humâyun—937"

The letters which compose the last five words شه عرصه دين محمد هميون according to the *Abjad*, give the date 937; but this necessitates the omission of the *alif* in the name of Humayun, for which reason it is written as هميون (Humeyun).

And at the end of the above there follows :—"The writer and composer of this was Shitâb. May his sins be forgiven."

The inscription on the left hand wall is as follows :—

اين بقعه بود چون دل صوفي صافي • انكار صفائي دليست بے انصافي

چون يافت بسعي زين خوافي اتمام • تاريخ شدش بسعي زين الخوافي

مزيد بايد آنكه بناى رابتكيسرى ياد كند ناظمه و راقمه شتاب

"This place is like unto a pure and holy heart. The denial of the purity is a sufficient wrong. In like manner, as this [place] was completed by the labours of this *Khawafi*, so the date will be found out by this endeavour to veil it." (The latter term used is بسعي زين الخوافي which gives the date, according to the Abjad, of 937.) And at the side of this there follows :—"Let it above all things be remembered that all foundations must in time be destroyed. The writer and composer of these verses was Shitâb."

In the *first* of these inscriptions, we learn that the Masjid in question was built by Humâyun in the year A. H. 937,

which was also the year of his father Bâbar's death! Now a spot on which Humâyun laid the foundation of a Masjid in the same year in which his father died would be likely to be near the garden palace which his father Bâbar is said to have built near Agra, which would also, in all probability, be the first residence of his son Humâyun at Agra. I therefore considered that I had thus found a clue to the position of the site of Bâbar's garden palace.

Now the *Mehtâb Khan ka Bagh* is *exactly opposite the Taj*; but the Masjid of Humâyun is *not exactly* opposite the Taj, but a little off to one side, or a *little* more westerly in its position. It is about opposite the *north-west corner* of the *Masjid* which stands at the west side of the Taj. The Masjid of Humâyun is therefore quite *clear*, and *separate* from the *Mehtâb Khan ka Bagh*. Then, immediately to the west and south-west of the Masjid of Humâyun, and extending thence down to the edge of the river, there is a large extent of ground, commonly called the *Char* or *Chahar Bagh*, covered with the traces of walls, and the foundations of large edifices, the latter probably the sites of the detached pavilions of a garden palace,—with a few fragments of carved stone, lying here and there, and bricks scattered about. And there are also several old *wells*, of very large size, elaborately constructed, one of which (near the river), of the kind called a *baori*, has a flight of steps, or stair, leading up to it, cut out of one single huge stone. In this well also there is a defaced inscription in Arabic. The whole extent of ground here is also strewed with fragments of glazed pottery, blue and green glazed tiles, and bits of old Delhi china. Along the whole frontage of this extent of ground, also, there is an old wall, running along the river side, banking the river out. There are also various signs indicating the former existence of an *extensive garden* here. *This* ground, therefore, I think, there is good reason to believe, must have been the site of the residence or palace precincts of Bâbar and Humâyun. At any rate, *Chahar Bagh* is one of the traditional names of the garden palace constructed by Bâbar at Agra.* It is situated exactly opposite the partly *vacant* ground *between* the Taj and the fort. I

* See Seal Chand's *Tafrih ul Imarat*, and Raja Ram's *Tamirat Agrah*. The former says that Babar did not complete this palace, but left orders with his son to finish it, who was prevented from doing so by sickness. I believe, however, that Humâyun must have completed it, and also that he lived in it, as there is a Masjid built by him in the neighbouring village of Kachpura.

measured the extent of this ground, as well as it was possible to do; and I found the extent of river frontage to amount to about 2,860 feet, and the breadth, back from the river, to be 1,200 feet. On this ground there are the sites (but nothing more than the traces of sites) of seven buildings, the largest of which is 159 feet square. There are the remains of four towers in the line of the wall, and there are nine wells. A plan of this ground will accompany this report.

The river here takes a sharp turn northwards, past the fort; and near the railway station, nearly *opposite* to the north-eastern angle of the fort (which is to the north of the water gate), I noticed the remains of the foundations of a large square building. This is commonly called the "*Battis Khambha.*" It is situated immediately to the *north-west* of the ground which I have identified above as the site of Bâbar's and Humâyun's garden palace. This building may possibly have been a pavilion at a ghât, or a landing place attached to the north-west end of the garden palace of Bâbar!

Certain investigations also, which I made after the discovery that the Masjid at Kachpura had been built by Humâyun in the year of Bâbar's death, have led me to believe that the city of Bâbar and Humâyun occupied a position a short distance further back between the two sides of the great bend of the river to the north-east (and on the same side or left bank of the river). In indicating the locality which I am about to describe, the following points will require to be borne in remembrance. About a mile to the east of Kachpura, and near the river bank, there is a small village, in a clump of trees, called "*Husainpur,*" and about half a mile beyond that, in the same direction, is the locality I am about to describe. Again, about two miles to the east of the railway station and the pontoon bridge and the tomb of Itimad-ud-Daulah, on the Aligarh and Shekohabad Road, there is a large village called "*Nunihai,*" which, and the neighbourhood immediately surrounding it, I have been told, is traditionally reputed to have been a site of a former and older city of Agra, and which is still surrounded by numerous mounds, or *tilas*, covered with bricks and the traces of foundations of ancient buildings; and immediately due south of this, at about the distance of a mile on the bank of the river, is the site of an ancient garden palace called the "*Achanak*

Bagh." Here I found that an area of 724 feet by 706 feet had been surrounded by a wall,—now destroyed, with the exception of a small portion on each side of the ruined entrance gateway,—having a tower at each of the four corners, of which the remains of two are still standing at the river side. At the centre of the river frontage, I discovered, on a square raised mound, the traces of the walls of a large building, or palace, 100 feet in length by 75 feet in breadth. The walls here have been entirely razed to the ground and removed; but *underneath*, facing the river *below*, there is the remains of a lower storey, consisting of ruinous vaulted chambers, now frequented by fishermen, and immediately in front of these there is a ghât, or wharf, of masonry, 82 feet in length by 44 feet in breadth, with two flights of steps in front leading down to the water. On this the fishermen now spread their nets. In the centre of the great enclosure, about 300 feet to the rear of the site of the palace building, there is still standing the ruined remains of a domed building 26 feet square, but of which only about one-third is now standing. At regular distances of 131 feet from and round the remains of this central domed building, and at intervals of about the same distance from each other, there are eight small raised platforms of masonry,—one between the site of the palace and the central domed building, another between the central domed building and the entrance gateway, and the other six ranged at equal distances on each side of these. At one of the side walls to the south-west from the site of the palace, and 73 feet distant, back, from one of the towers at the river front, there is an oblong-shaped building standing, which was evidently a cistern into which water was raised from outside, either for a bath or for purposes of irrigation; and at the opposite side wall, in a similar position, there are traces of the foundations of another building corresponding to the former. At the centre of the rear wall of the great enclosure (or at the centre of the *side furthest from* the river), there is the remains of an entrance gateway in a very ruinous state, which building measured 44 feet in length by 27 feet in breadth. The outer part of it is occasionally occupied by some peasants who cultivate the neighbouring fields.

This garden palace is said to have been occupied by a Begam, or Princess, called "*Achanak Begam*," at the time when there was a former city of Agra where Nunihai now is.

This locality, generally, certainly appears to me to be the most probable site for the city of Bâbar and Humâyun, and if so, I believe that the old or former city of Agra, which people say was situated where Nunihai is, was the *city* of Bâbar and Humâyun; while, on the other hand, I believe that the numerous razed sites which occupy an extensive tract of ground to the west of the Masjid of Humâyun at Kachpura, and between that and the railway station, or the disused roadway to the old bridge of boats, indicate the position and represent the sites of the palace precincts of Bâbar and Humâyun. I think, therefore, that we may suppose that the whole tract of ground from the river on each side to Nunihai, from the river at Kachpura to near the railway station, and from Nunihai to the old disused roadway which ran down to the old bridge of boats at the back of the railway station, was at one time occupied by what was the city of Agra, generally, in the time of Bâbar and Humâyun.

There is, however, another locality on the same side (or left bank) of the river, which I examined, where it is said that, in former days, two princesses dwelt, and which appeared to me to have at least an equal claim to represent the site of a garden palace in the time of Bâbar, more especially as there is some story extant to the effect that it was originally constructed by Bâbar as a residence for one of his daughters. It is vulgarly called the "Zera Bagh" or "*Zera Mahal*," but properly the "*Zahara Bagh*" or "*Mahal*." It is now occasionally frequented by native visitors from the circumstance of there being a small tomb of a Muhammadan saint, or martyr, called "*Muhammad Shahid*," in the grounds, but this tomb is of much later date than the founding of the garden or palace. This "*Zahara Bagh*" and "*Mahal*" is situated on the bank of the river, immediately between the Ram Bagh and the Chini ka Roza; and it is apparently the most extensive of all the still existing ancient palatial garden enclosures that lie on the banks of the river Jamna at or in the neighbourhood of Agra. It has a river frontage of no less than 1,234 feet, including two towers (one of which is still standing surmounted by a cupola, and the other is ruined) which marked the boundary at each corner of the river frontage; and it extends backwards from the river for a distance of 1,095 feet, where the remains of the foun-

dation of the ancient entrance gateway may still be traced. The architecture of the ruined palace is *not* in the usual Mughal style of the time of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan, but rather in the ruder, more massive, and *not* lofty, transition style, which leads us from the architecture of the later Pathans to that of the first of the Mughals. The palace originally formed a quadrangle, open at the centre of each side, of 123 feet by 142 feet. One corner* of this quadrangle (or about one-fourth of the whole) has been destroyed and razed to the ground, but the remainder is still standing and roofed, though in a very dilapidated condition. In the centre of the great quadrangle there is a square sunken area, which may have been an ornamental tank, with a low round stone pillar in the centre. From the bottom of this, there evidently was an outlet for water, by a passage through a lower vaulted front ground storey which faces the river, and in front of which, below, there is a broad platform, or ghât, 150 feet in length and 54 feet in breadth, with two flights of stairs descending in the centre to the river, and with a plain low round buttress tower at each front corner. A grand avenue, of nearly 900 feet in length, leads from the public road at the back of the garden to the palace. At the commencement of this avenue, near the public road, there formerly stood the grand gateway (now destroyed), 55 feet in breadth by 60 feet in depth, with an entrance passage of 10 feet in breadth. The avenue then extends for 131 feet, until it widens out into an open space of 66 feet square. It then extends again for 261 feet, and again widens out into a square open space, with a raised octagonal masonry platform in the centre, 30 feet in diameter. Again the avenue extends for 283 feet, and again widens out into a square open space, with a raised square masonry platform in the centre, of 27 feet each side. The avenue then extends for 94 feet more, until it reaches the raised ground, or platform, on which the palace stands, whence there is 61 feet more to the palace. At the north-east corner of the walled garden enclosure there is a fine octagonal-shaped tank, or pond, built of masonry, of which the diameter is 117 feet, and each of the sides 44 feet.

This garden palace, as I said before, is commonly called the "*Zera*," or "*Zahara Bagh*" or "*Mahal.*" Now *Zahir-ud-din* was the title of Bâbar, and I think it not at all improbable

* *i. e.*, the north-east corner is destroyed.

that "*Zera*" may be simply a vulgar corruption of *Zahir*, and that the proper and original name of this garden palace may have been *Zahir Bagh* or *Mahal*.

The above were my own conjectures, derived from personal observation, as to the probable site of the garden palace of Bâbar; but my conjectures have been *confirmed* by enquiries of several intelligent and influential Muhammadans of Agra. It seems that the garden palace vulgarly called the "*Zera Bagh*" was *actually* a work of Bâbar's, and that its proper name *is Zahara Bagh*, and that it was so named, *not* after Bâbar's title, *Zahir-ud-din*, but after one of Bâbar's daughters, called "*Zahara Begam*." There is, however, another garden bearing a somewhat similar name, of very great extent, on the *present Agra* side of the river, but at some distance from it, between Sultanpur and Khawaspura, and near the barracks of the cantonments. This garden is called "*Zehra Bagh*, though it is sometimes vulgarly called the "*Dehra Bagh*" by the common people; the name commencing with the letter (ذ) (*zal*), which may be easily mistaken for *dal* (د). This garden is said to have been constructed by Bâbar, and named after *another* of his daughters, while others attribute it to Shah Jahan. This is by far the largest remains of an ancient garden anywhere near Agra, it being no less than 3,840 feet in length by 2,064 feet in breadth. The walls and gates have been destroyed and removed, but the remains of their foundations may still be plainly traced. About 269 feet within the western side of this enclosure, there is the remains of a large tank, 94 feet 6 inches square, which is now filled up with earth, and in the centre of this there is a *chabutra*, or raised platform of masonry, 41 feet square, on which there are traces of the foundations of a building, probably a pavilion, which is traditionally remembered as the "*Sakhin Mahal.*" It is said that there were originally *sixty wells* connected with this garden; of these there are nine remaining; the largest of these wells is a short distance without the western side of this enclosure; the raised masonry around this well has sixteen sides exteriorly, and forms an enclosing wall round the well of nine feet seven inches in thickness. It is said that fifty-two people at once could draw water from this well. Within the west side of the enclosure there are four wells, and the two western corner towers (now destroyed) also contained wells. There are two more wells, a short distance without the eastern side of the enclosure, next to the cantonments.

Now the question is, were either of these two gardens, or garden palaces, the "*Zahara Bagh*" and the "*Zehra Bagh,*" the actual residence of Bâbar, or were they merely constructed for the use of his daughters? I am inclined to think that the "*Zahara Mahal*" on the bank of the other side of the river may have been an actual residence of Bâbar, but that the *Achanak Bagh* near Nunihai was probably the site of the *first temporary* residence of Bâbar, immediately after he took Agra and assumed the sovereignty. "*Achanchak,*" or "*Achank,*" in Hindi, signifies *of a sudden*, and might thus indicate such an *impromptu* residence hurriedly constructed, as I have ventured to attribute to Bâbar on his first capture of Agra. Now the "*Achanak Bagh*" is close to the village of Nunihai, which, as I have before stated, is surrounded by mounds of *debris* and other remains of a *former city* of Agra, and this within a reasonably short distance from the Masjid of Humâyun at the village of Kachpura; and this site of a former city of Agra at Nunihai is situated about the *centre* of a *broad tongue of land* which runs between the two sides of a great loop or bend of the river Jamna, the apex of which is about opposite the centre of the fort of Agra. Counting from the apex of this bend of the river, and looking eastwards, the "*Achanak Bagh*" lies about two and a half miles *down* the *right* side of the bend of the river, while the "*Zahara Bagh*" lies on the other side of the tongue of land, nearly, or about, two miles *up* the *left side* of this bend of the river, and the village of Nunihai also lies at the distance of some two and a half miles about the *centre* of this tongue of land, which divides the two gardens apart. A line therefore, if run *cross* this broad tongue of land from the "*Zahara Bagh*" to the "*Achanak Bagh,*" would very probably run *through* the village of Nunihai, which lies in the middle. We may therefore suppose that this former city of Agra extended around where Nunihai now is, and across to the two sides of the bend of the river, on either side; and that garden palaces belonging to this former city of Agra would be situated on the banks of the river on both sides of this great bend. There may, therefore, also have been garden palaces constructed by Bâbar on both sides of the bend of the river, at the two ends of a line transversely drawn through a central point at Nunihai.

It seems utterly impossible to ascertain the true origin of this great walled palatial garden enclosure, all now destroyed with the exception of the great well, the wonder of Agra, a short fragment of the massive wall, and the Dargah of Kamal Khan Shahid.

The following are the several various traditions concerning the origin of this garden enclosure which I have been able to collect.

(1).—Hakim Amin Khan, now living in Agra, who is supposed to know more about the history of old places about Agra than any one else, says that its proper name is "*Zehra Bagh*," and that it was constructed by Bâbar for his daughter "*Zehra*," the *sister* of "*Zahara*," whose garden is on the *other* side of the river (as previously stated and described by me).

(2).—The Qadim in charge of the Dargah and tomb of Kamal Khan Shahid, which is in the Dehra Bagh, says that its proper name is "*Dhahara Bagh*," and that it was constructed by Shah Jahan for his fourth daughter, Dhahar Ara Bigam (who, I may add, was the child in giving birth to whom Shah Jahan's favourite queen Muntaz Mahal died).

(3).—Seal Chand, in his "*Tafrihul Imarat*," calls this palatial garden enclosure "*Bagh Nur Manzal urf Dehra*," and says that it was constructed by Jahangir for his own residence, and that it was only *afterwards* occasionally used by Shah Jahan as a garden residence.

(4).—Raja Ram, in his "*Tamirat Agrah*," calls it "*Bagh Dehra*," and says that it was constructed by Shah Jahan for Dehra Bigam.

I believe, however, that this great palatial garden enclosure must have existed in the time of Akbar, and that it was the spot where Akbar encamped when he first came to Agra, as it is near the villages of Khawaspur and Sultanpur, close to which, as I stated in a former portion of my report, Akbar is said to have encamped on that occasion, and from which circumstance these villages received their names. I have also reason to believe that the *elephants* belonging to Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan were kept at this garden. At any rate, Kamal Khan, a Pathan, who became a "*Shahid*," or martyr, and whose tomb is on the spot, was commander of the elephant stud or establishment to one of the Mughal emperors.

The building in which Kamal Khan's tomb now is, is called a "Dargah," but evidently it was *not* originally intended

for a mausoleum; and, from a circumstance which I am now about to mention, I have reason to believe that this building was only one of a series of similar buildings which stood round the whole interior of the walls of this great garden enclosure, or was in fact simply a part of a sort of continuous pillared verandah or colonnade, with small chambers in the inner thickness of the wall, which interiorly lined and formed part of the great wall, which was of great thickness, which surrounded this palatial garden. Now this building, in which the tomb of Kamal Khan now is, is forty (40) feet in length and of an oblong rectangular shape. The outer longitudinal half of it is *solid wall*, while the inner longitudinal half of it is divided into three small shallow chambers or compartments, entered by arches (now partly filled up) between red sandstone pillars, with squared shafts and Hindu bracket capitals, of the style which prevailed during the time of Akbar and Jahangir. From above the entablatures over the pillars, broad eaves of slabs of red sandstone project, and these eaves are supported by beautiful open-work brackets of a very remarkable pattern, which are thoroughly Hindu in character. These brackets are composed of two horizontal stone beams or bars, the interspaces between which are filled up differently in each alternate bracket, namely, in the first there is the figure of a *duck* (or goose), in the second the figure of an *elephant*, in the third a *duck* again, in the fourth an *elephant* again, and so on. These brackets are all perfect and in their places, and I have reason to believe that they have never been broken or replaced, so that, if any similar brackets were found *buried* in the *ground*, or among the *debris* of the ruined foundations within the garden enclosure, they must have belonged to some *other* building which had similar brackets.

Now this is actually the case, for a man, an inhabitant of a small village which abuts on to the only fragment of the great wall still standing on the very opposite side of the great enclosure, brought me a broken stone bracket with the figure of a *duck*, which he had dug up, and said that similar brackets, some with figures of ducks and some with elephants, had been found there. Hence we may suppose that there was a continuous series of such buildings round the inner side of the enclosure with stone eaves, all of which were supported by brackets of the same patterns, or which had alternately the figure of a duck or of an elephant.

Moreover, the fragment of *wall* still standing at the back of a small village before mentioned appears to have arches in it (now filled up) exactly similar to those in the building which is now called the "*Dargah of Kamal Khan,*" only that the colonnade and bracket-supported eaves of the former have been destroyed.

The great well (the most stupendous well about Agra) is immediately at the back of the so-called "*Dargah of Kamal Khan,*" and was therefore just *outside* the wall, as it appears in my plan, which will accompany this report.

The great well is about two hundred and twenty (220) feet in circumference exteriorly. Its exterior is sixteen sided, each side measuring 13 feet 7 inches. It is surrounded by a screen pierced with arched door-ways (now much broken down). The wall of the well itself is 9 feet 7 inches in thickness. The interior shaft is circular. On looking over the brink, one looks down into a fearful chasm, the water appearing at an awful depth below.

Agra was more frequently the seat of Government in the time of Humâyun than Dehli. Whenever Humâyun had time to rest anywhere during his troublous and broken reign, it was at Agra. Agra was always the starting point or basis of his operations in India; it was always the main point or goal of attack by his enemies; and was the central point for which they strove. Agra was also always the place from which Humâyun set out on his campaigns against those in India proper who opposed or rebelled against his rule; and it was always the place of refuge to which he retired after his defeats, until the interregnum occurred at the time when he was driven out of the country. During the short period *after* Humâyun's *restoration*, he probably was as much at Dehli as at Agra; and (as is well known) on his death he was interred at Dehli in the grand and famous mausoleum which goes by his name.

With regard to Humâyun's place of residence while at Agra, it is probable, as I said before, that he resided near where his Masjid now stands, nearly opposite the Taj.

From the fact of Agra having been a place of so much importance as to have been secured by Bâbar immediately after he took Dehli from Ibrahim Lodi, and also from the fact that Humâyun always made Agra his place of refuge and the starting point of his operations in India, it would seem very probable that either Agra, or at least some

particular part of Agra may have been *fortified* in the time of Sikandar and Ibrahim Lodi, and also during the reigns of Bâbar and Humâyun. The "*Lodi-Khan-ka-Tila*" (near the Poor House) in Agra, before mentioned, *may* be the site of a *fort* built or added to by one of the Lodi family; but that is uncertain. But if either Bâbar or Humâyun built any kind of fortification at Agra, I believe it must have been on the other side of the river near Humâyun's Masjid, Nunihai and the Zahara Bagh. My own examination of that locality has led me to believe that certain long lines of raised earth and mounds scattered over with bricks, which may still be traced there, are the remains of the foundations of walls of considerable breadth and strength, and that these probably indicate the lines of battlemented walls which protected and surrounded the residences of Bâbar and Humâyun, and the sites of their palaces. and the residences of the attendants of their court.

We must remember that the Agra which we now see in reality represents the later city of "*Akbarabad*" founded by Akbar; while we have every reason to believe that the *Agra* of Bâbar and Humâyun was on the *other* side of the river! Again, the Agra of the earlier period of the Lodi dynasty, on the other hand, was probably at Sikandra, or divided between Sikandra and the *Lodi-Khan-ka-Tila* (if the *latter* was a site of a settlement of the *royal* family of Lodi at all!) There are the remains of sites of innumerable buildings still to be seen on each side of the road to Sikandra and round about Sikandra itself, of many of which it is almost impossible now to discover who was the founder, and of some of which even the name is no longer known.

AGRA AS "AKBARABAD.

Akbar took possession of Agra, as well as Dehli, about the year 1557, and removed from Fatehpur Sikri to Agra some time *after* the birth of his son Salim (afterwards Jahângir) about A. D. 1568. When he arrived at Agra, he is said to have encamped to the west of where the great Masjid called the *Id Gah* now stands, on the tract of ground where the villages of Sultanpur and Khawaspur are now situated, about a mile and a quarter to the west of the *Id Gah*, and about two miles west from the Magistrate's Kacherri. The villages of Sultanpur and Khawaspur are said to have received their names from this circumstance,—*Sultanpur*

signifying 'King's town,' and *Khawaspur*, the 'quarters allotted to his attendants.' Akbar no doubt tarried a while in some such locality in the environs of Agra, until his new fortified palace at Agra was quite ready for him to live in.

The fort of Agra was founded by Akbar in A. D. 1571. Little, however, now remains of any palace or residence, within the fort, which was really built or occupied by Akbar himself. Many of the buildings now existing in the fort are erroneously ascribed to Akbar, as they were really built entirely by Jahângir and Shah Jahân. The *walls* of the fort, and a building situated to the north of the water gate, now occupied as a powder magazine, but which was originally the audience hall of Akbar, are probably the only buildings that can be correctly attributed to Akbar himself.

The architectural remains of Akbar in the fort will, however, be fully described in another place further on.

Under the archway of the Dehli Gate, within the outer guards, and near where the inner guard is stationed, and on the right hand side as one enters, there is an old unoccupied guard house. The further (or east) *end* wall of this guard house is covered with inscriptions, cut in raised letters, in the Persian character. The uppermost one, the oldest, of *two* lines, is of the time of Akbar, and is dated A. H. 1008, or A. D. 1600. The lower inscription is in *four* lines, of eight compartments, and is of the time of Shah Jahân. At one side of the end of this last inscription there is a single line, stating that this inscription was the work of one *Muhammad Masum al Bikra.*

The following is an attempt at a tentative reading and translation of the inscription of Akbar, or at least of what remains of it, for it is necessary to state that it is very much defaced. The stone has been gradually shaling off in blisters, so that fragments fall off with the slightest touch, and I believe that in another two years the letters will have entirely disappeared, and the inscription will no longer exist.

عصر شاهنشاه خلافت پناه ظل الله جلال الدین محمد اکبر پادشاه فی

سده ۱۰۰۸ توجه فرمود شهر در آگره منزولا فرمودي شاه عالم‌گیر که از و مادر

چراغ ابد چون بگلزار آگره جای گرفت ٬

TRANSLATION.

"...In the time of the king of kings, the protection of the realm, the shadow of god, Jalâl-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Padshah......................in the year 1008, by his grace commanded.
.........in the city of Agrah, this habitation of splendour, I commanded [here follows the fragment of a word, which may be read as either تعلى (conspicuously appearing) or as معلى (signification)] I the king...........the conqueror of the world; that thereby and for the end that, in this [place] the lamp of eternity may be in the garden of roses, Agrah, the captured place."

There is an interesting tradition connected with the laying the foundation of the fort of Agra in the time of Akbar, to the effect that the foundations of the fort would not stand the encroachments of the river Jamna until the foundation stone was properly laid by the Raja of Khiraoli of that period, as the descendant and representative of Krishna, the lawful ruler of these regions, and the restorer of the Yadu dynasty.

The following is a reading and translation of the inscription of Shah Jahân:—

شاه جهان چون گرفت جائی بتخت شرف   تخت ز رفعت نهاد بر زسر چرخ پا
دست دعا بر کشاد پیر فلک از نشاط   گفت که بادا مدام حکم تو فرمان روا
بر است که نهانی کند سال جلوسش رقم   بود در اندم لبش پر ز ثنا و (دعا)
میل دو چشم شود یک آتش گردو گفت   باد جهان باد شاه شاه جهانگیر ما

TRANSLATION.

"When Shah Jahan seized the place of the great throne, the throne raised itself above the heavens through pleasure. Heaven stretched forth its hands in his praise, and said that it came to execute his behests; that Nahani may, with pleasure, write the date of his accession in order that his praise may abound in his lips at all times [here the words which give the date are, (دعا) بود در اندم لبش پر ز ثنا و but as some letters

are broken off at the end of the third line, the date cannot be easily ascertained.] And every one, however hostile he may be, will say—may the king Shah Jahan be as was our Jahangir Badshah."* [Then follows at the left hand side:] "The writer and composer of this was Muhammad M'asum al Bikra."

With regard to the inscription of Akbar; in the first line it states that *something* was *done* "*by his command*," but it does not say *what*, or rather, the words which *would* have explained the thing which was commanded are obliterated, that part having fallen off with the shaling off of the stone. Could it possibly be the *building of the gateway* (now known as the "*Dehli Gate*"), which was referred to as having been commanded by Akbar? It would seem to be not altogether improbable, seeing that the inscription is in the gateway. But if that be the case, then this gateway must have been built in the year 1600, and *not* in 1571, the reputed year of the founding of the fort.

My instructions were *not* to give either a general or detailed description of the *whole fort*, but merely of *certain buildings* in it, *e. g.*, any genuine remains of Akbar's time, the red stone palace of Jahangir, Selimgarh, and the Moti Masjid of Shah Jahan. Detailed plans of the fort, as a whole, are already in the possession of the military authorities.

I have already noticed the audience hall of Akbar; but before proceeding to a detailed description of the buildings of Akbar and his successors in Agra, which it was my business to describe, it will be advisable that I should indicate the characteristic points and extent of the city of Agrah, or Akbarabad, of the time of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan; it having been one of the points to which my attention was directed in the instructions which I received, that I should ascertain and note down the extent of the city of Agrah as it existed in the time of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan.

Agra is often spoken of as having been an "*open city!*" Yet, nevertheless, it was a *walled* city. But though it was a *walled* city, it could hardly be called a *fortified* city in the correct sense of the term; for the wall, or what remains

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* *Note by General Cunningham.*—I understand this inscription to refer to *Jahángír*, and I read the date as A. H. 1015, which was the 2nd year of his reign, as contained in the last line—"Bâd Jahân bâdshah Shah Jahângir ma."

of it, is in *no* place more than about *five* feet in thickness, and generally only about *four* feet. I speak, of course, here only of the *city wall* of Agra, quite independent of the fort, which latter was a *separate* fortification or citadel by itself.

There were sixteen gates and many towers or bastions to the city wall of Agra. The gates were named as follows, taking them in order from the north-east, by the west, to the south-east:—The *Purbi* (?) Gate, the *Kashmir* (?) Gate, the *Delhi* Gate, the *Alam Ganj* Gate, the "*Fateh Muhammad*" Gate, the "*Changa-modi*" Gate, a small postern gate called the "*Futa Fatak*," the "*Gungam*" Gate, the "*Kans*" Gate, the smaller "*Gwalior*" Gate, the "*Ajmer*" Gate, the "*Dakhini*" Gate, the *greater* "*Gwalior*" Gate, and the Amar Singh Gate.* Of these, the "*Delhi*" Gate, small part of the "*Fateh Muhammad*" Gate, the "*Changa-modi*" Gate, the "*Futa Fatak*," and the "*Kans*" Gate are the *only* reliques now *standing*. The "*Ajmer*" Gate *was* standing until the end of 1866, when it was pulled down in order to widen the Shahganj Road for the traffic going to the Exhibition of the N. W. P. held at Agra in the beginning of 1867. It was considered, nevertheless, an act of inexcusable vandalism!

I made a complete survey and measurement of the *city wall* of Agra, whether *standing* or *destroyed*. Compared to its *original* extent, very little now remains of the wall; but still what *does* remain of it is of considerable extent. The most considerable remnant of the wall is to the west, behind that quarter of the town called "*Gokalpara*," and part of "*Loha ki mandi*;" while on each side of this, and between this and the river, the wall is mostly destroyed, with the exception of a few isolated fragments. Let us commence from the river bank to the north-east of the fort, near Jafar Khan's mausoleum, and so on round by the west to the south side of the fort. The city wall, commencing *from the river*, in the *Khatik ka Baghich*, 9,200 feet *above* the fort, and a short distance to the south-west of Jafar Khan's mausoleum, where 566 feet of the wall are still standing, and leaving Jafar Khan's mausoleum outside, ran from thence behind the Leper Asylum, past a clump of trees, where there is an image of Hanuman, and from

* This must *not* be confounded with the "*Amar Singh*" Gate of the *fort*. There must have been, at least, *two more* gates towards the south-east side of Agrah, and I have therefore computed the *whole* at *sixteen*.

thence past Sultanganj, leaving Sultanganj outside, and from thence past Wazirpura, leaving Wazirpura outside, and from thence to the Central Prison, and from thence to the Delhi Gate, crossing the Mathura Road, and from thence to Alamganj Bazar Gate, and from thence to the Fateh Muhammad Gate (one side standing), and from thence to the back of Loha ki mandi, crossing the Bhartpur Road, where we come to the Changa-modi Gate, at the back of the Eunuchs' Masjid, and from thence to the Futa Fatak, and from thence to the back of Gokalpura, by the Gangaur Gate, and thence to the Kans Gate, and from thence to where the *lesser* Gwalior Gate once stood, and from thence to where the Ajmer Gate stood, crossing the Shah Ganj road, and from thence by the Id Gah Masjid, and from thence by the village of Namner, leaving Namner outside, and from thence by Baluganj (*Boileauganj*), and from thence to the back of Lacchipura (taking Lacchipura *inside*), and from thence to Garipura, and from thence to Hajipura, two miles to the south of the Taj, beyond which I could not find any further trace of the wall.

The following is a summary of the *measurements* and *notes* of my survey of the city wall of Agra, commencing from above the fort, at the Khatik's garden, on the right bank of the river, near Jafar Khan's Roza, and thence round by the Delhi Gate and Ajmer Gate to near the Taj.

The portions still standing aggregate 6,548 feet 9 inches in length, while no less than 32,689 feet have been destroyed and no longer exist.*

I also measured the *breadth* of Agra from west to east from the Changa-modi Gate near the Bhartpur Road to the pontoon bridge above the fort; and also the *length* of Agra from north to south—from the north end of the wall at the river in the Khatik's garden (near Jafar Khan's Roza) *above* the fort to Hajipura, two miles south of the Taj. These measurements gave the following results:—

Breadth of Agra from east to west, from the Changa-modi Gate to the pontoon bridge ... ... } 11,500 feet.

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* If to the latter we add the distance from Hajipura to the river near the Taj, which is about two miles, or ten thousand five hundred and sixty (10,560) feet, it will make the total amount of wall destroyed, or not existing, about forty-three thousand two hundred and forty-nine (43,249) feet, or, say, 43,250 feet.

Length of Agra from north to south, from commencement of the wall at the bank of the river in the Khatik's garden near Jafar Khan's mausoleum to Hajipura, two miles south of the Taj	**18,700 feet.**

Thus the circumference of Agrah, or Akbarabad, **within** the walls may be estimated at about $9\frac{1}{4}$ miles, which would give an area of about $5\frac{1}{3}$ square miles.

On the inner side of a fragment of the city wall, which is still standing near the point where the Shahganj Road meets the Mall, and close to the south side of the spot where the Ajmer Gate lately stood, there is an inscription on stone let into the wall over a small praying place, or Masid. It is in three lines, of which the first two lines are in Arabic, being a quotation from the Koran, and the third or last line is in Persian, stating the name of the person who caused the stone to be inscribed, and for what purpose, and the date. This inscription reads as follows :—

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لاتا خذه سنة ولا نوم له ما فى السموات وما فى
الارض من ذ الذى يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم مابين ايديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون
بشئ من علمه الا بماشاء وسع كرسيه السموات و الارض ولا يؤده حفظهما
وهو العلي العظيم ،

بنا كرد در عصر نور الدين محمد جهانگير پادشاه اين مسجد و گنبذ بنده احقرما
حاجي سليمان در سنه ۱۰۳۱ يكهزار و سي و يك ،

Some time ago, I happened to send an impression of this inscription to Mr. Blochmann (Honorary Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal), who was collecting Muhammadan inscriptions, and he kindly favoured me in return with a translation of the last line of the inscription, which is in the Persian.

The following is a translation of the *whole* inscription :—

"God! there is no God but he; the living, the self-sub-"sisting: neither slumber nor sleep seizeth him; to him "*belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven, or on earth. Who is he "that can intercede with him, but through his good plea-"sure? He knoweth that which is past, and that which "is to come unto them, and they shall not comprehend

"anything of his knowledge, but so far as he pleaseth. His "throne is extended over heaven and earth, and the preservation of both is no burden unto him. He is the high, the "mighty."—(See Sale's *Al Koran*, chap. II. p. 31.)

(*Persian* line.)

"In the time of Nur-ud-din Muhammad, Jahangir the "just, the Padshah, the contemptible slave Haji Salaiman "has built this mosque and dome in the year 1031" (A. D. 1621-22).

This inscribed stone did not originally stand where it now is. There is no mosque with a dome there now. But it is said that some years ago an old mosque stood in the great *Kabristan*, or Muhammadan burial ground, a short distance to the south-west of the Ajmer Gate, in which this stone was originally found; but that when the mosque fell into ruin and was pulled down, this stone was removed and fixed into the wall near the Ajmer Gate at a small praying place there.

Masjid of Akbar in the City of Agra.

There is a very fine Masjid in the city of Agra, in the "Kinari Bazar," called the *Akbari Masjid*, which, as its name implies, was originally built by Akbar. It was, until lately, in a very ruinous state, but has recently been entirely repaired and renewed, principally through the exertions of some of the wealthy Muhammadans of Agra. The Tahsildar of Agra has the credit of initiating the repairs of this Masjid, for which it is said that an accumulation of the rents of the adjoining shop-stalls was applied. It is hard to say how much it preserves of the original; for I fancy that the greater portion of the exterior and upper stone-work and ornamentation is entirely *new*. The building has, in fact, been entirely *renovated*. This Masjid is *next in size* to the "*Kalán Masjid.*" Its dimensions are, length 84 feet 6 inches, breadth 25 feet. The roof is supported upon a double colonnade of twelve square pillars. There is only one large dome situated rather towards the back of the centre of the roof of the building. This Masjid is built of (or outwardly faced with) red sandstone. But, as I said before, I fear there is *very little*, if any, of Akbar's work left, except the mere foundations, and perhaps some of the interior brick-work of the walls. I consider the

smaller Khoja's Masjid in Loha-ki-mandi to be much more beautiful.

There is *no* inscription now to be found about this Masjid, though there is every probability that there *was* one before it fell into a state of ruin.

Before concluding my notice of the architectural remains of the time of Akbar at Agra, it may be well to notice the remains of two palaces near Agra, attributed to Akbar's minister and friend, Raja Birbal, and also those of two mausoleums of ladies of Akbar's court.

One of the former, now called the "*Hans Mahal,*" is situated, according to native computation, about *four* kôs (or eight miles) beyond Sikandra,—Sikandra itself being about six miles from the fort, or four miles from Agra, which would make the whole distance to the Hans Mahal about twelve miles from Agra, or fourteen miles from the fort. I am however inclined to compute the distance of the Hans Mahal, as *the crow flies*, as about five miles beyond Sikandra, and about nine miles from the fort of Agra. The Hans Mahal is situated at the end of a great tongue of land, or at the very apex of a great bend of the river, which almost makes a peninsula of the land there. The palace is entirely ruined, and indeed the greater part of it has been removed. It is said that a great portion of the materials (bricks) were taken away to be appropriated for the buildings at the Orphan Asylum near Sikandra; only one large fragment of the palace is now *standing*, and this is inhabited by a farmer. The traces of the foundations of the walls of the destroyed portions are however perfectly distinct and of great extent: a part of the palace walls still stands on high, overhanging the steep river bank, and down below, on the very shore or edge of the river, there are huge rugged fragments of solid masonry lying in every direction. The river has done its part in *undermining* that portion of the palace which was nearest to it, and a ruined tower (one of many of which once lined the lower river terrace of the palace) is still standing, partly surrounded by water, and is *worn away* in the middle like a spindle, by the action of the water, and will soon fall like the rest. The original extent of the palace must have been somewhere about 380 feet by 200 feet, judging by the traces of foundations of walls, and the mounds of earth formed by *debris*. This palace certainly occupied the finest and most commanding positinn near

Agra. There is a splendid view from it for many miles up both sides of the great bend of the river, in the direction of Mathura on the one hand, and Agra on the other.

Beyond Sikandra there is no means of getting to the Hans Mahal, except either on foot or on horseback, as the path leads over very rugged ground, intersected by ravines in every direction.

Old Hindu "Boundary Stone" near Sikandra.

Just beyond the north-west corner of the mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandra, near a village called "*Bainpur*," I came upon rather a curiosity in its way, namely, an *old Hindu boundary stone* with an *inscription* on it in the Nagari character, dated "*Samvat* 1651," or A. D. 1594. It is very much defaced, but appears to commence with the words "*Sri Ganeya (Ganeshya?)* náma, *Samvat* 1651, *vastham-dhara thamba tisva*" (the rest is totally defaced).

The *other* palace attributed to Birbal is at *Samonghar*, a place about nine miles distant from Agra, and seven miles beyond the Taj, towards the south-east. Samonghar may be remembered as the place where the great battle between Aurangzib and Dâra took place in the year 1658. I have not much to say about this palace, as it has been totally destroyed and levelled to the ground; only a small fragment of the gateway being left, and a few detached fragments of massive masonry scattered here and there. It must however have been a building of large size, with enclosed grounds of great extent. It is somewhat strange to find palaces of nobles of the court at such a distance from Agra, but the fact is that there are more ancient buildings in the neighbourhood of Agra than most people have any conception of; indeed, when one explores the neighbourhood in every direction, as I have done, remains of this kind appear to be almost innumerable, and turn up one after the other, as if they had risen from the ground in endless succession.

Jodh Bai's Mausoleum.

This was the mausoleum of Akbar's Rajput Queen, the daughter of Raja Maldeo Rao of Judhpur, and the mother of Jahangir. It is now entirely destroyed, having been blown up with gunpowder by the Government about forty years ago (some say because the place had become a rendezvous for thieves), and gates and walls and towers of the outer

enclosure were pulled down, and the materials taken away to build barracks in the cantonments with. The mausoleum itself, however, was too tough, too hard a nut to crack, for that purpose, and it was therefore left as it is, after being blown up,—a huge shapeless heap of massive fragments of masonry, which neither the hammer of man, nor of time, can dissolve or destroy !

This mausoleum, or what remains of it, is situated to the south of Agra, between the Malpura and Fatehpur Sikri roads, near the artillery practice ground, or "*Chând-mâri*," as the natives call it, and close to a village called *Khoja-ki-serai*. The mausoleum was a square building of 78 feet each side, according to my measurements of the foundations. Beneath it there is a large vaulted underground chamber, into which four passages descend at an incline, one from the middle of each of the four outer sides, like the passages into the pyramids. *Three* of those passages are stopped up with rubbish and *debris* ; the *fourth* can be entered by crawling on all-fours. It is said that the marble tomb or cenotaph of Jodh Bai still exists below. It can only be a *cenotaph*, for Jodh Bai was a Hindu, and her body must have been burned. This underground chamber is now a habitation for jackals, wolves and hyenas.

The mausoleum stood on two square concentric raised platforms, the one higher than the other. The *first* extended for 38 feet beyond the mausoleum ; the *second* extended for a distance of from 44 feet to 49 feet beyond the first.

There was once a grand *gate* which led to this mausoleum, and which stood at a distance of 670 feet from it to the *east* side ; and at a distance of 657 feet to the *west* side there was a *Masjid* 55 by 41 feet, with an apse at back of 7 feet in depth by 11 feet in length. Half-way between the gateway and the mausoleum on the one side, and between the *Masjid* and the mausoleum on the other side, there was a raised platform (one on each side) 42 feet square.

This is a grand enclosure, the walls of which are built of red sandstone, which is said to have contained the mausoleum of "*Ladli Begam*," the *sister* of *Abul Fazl*, the friend and historian of Akbar. It is situated about a mile to the *north* of the Sikandra road and Alamganj, and immediately behind the *Khandhâri Bagh*. The walls are high, with crenelated battlements, and there are towers at the four corners. This great walled enclosure measured 335 feet

5 inches in length each side, including thickness of walls.* It has a grand and lofty *gateway* somewhat in the Fatehpur Sikri style, which was formerly surmounted by a row of four small square lanterns, surmounted by cupolas, which, however, have in recent times been removed. There is a long Arabic inscription over the gateway at a great height from the ground, terminating with a statement that this palace was built in the year "*A. H.* 1004," or A. D. 1596. At the centre of each of the other three sides there is a lofty arched building, each of them simulating a gateway, and thus on these three sides forming *counterparts* to the *real* gateway which is in the centre of the *fourth*, or south-east side. None of these *other three* buildings, however, have any passage of egress outwards. One of these other three buildings (that on the north-west side) may possibly have been used as a Masjid, though not quite according to the proper points of the compass for such a purpose. In the *centre* of this great quadrangular enclosure there was formerly a grand mausoleum, containing the tomb of *Ladli Begam;* and it is said that it also contained the tomb of *Faizi*, the brother of Abul Fazl, and the much regretted friend of Akbar. But, a few years ago, the ground was purchased by a Hindu, named Lakhmi Chand Seth, who pulled down the mausoleum and destroyed the tombs, and built a small ornamental "*chatri*" or pavilion in their place. How the local Government of the period came to permit such an act of sacrilege, and unnecessary and gratuitous destruction to be perpetrated on a relic of such *historical interest*, it is difficult to conceive; for, if the mausoleum was in anything like as excellent a state of preservation as the outer walls and gateway, &c., it must have been well worth saving. The *Ladli Bagh* or *enclosure* is one of the most remarkable and conspicuous buildings in the neighbourhood of Agra, and it (or at least what has been allowed to remain of it) is in a better state of preservation than any other building of a similar age about Agra.

Outside the great gateway there is the *grandest* and *largest well* anywhere about Agra. It was constructed at the *same* time as the Ladli Bagh and mausoleum. This *well* is of the kind called a "*baori*," and it has a series of three successive storeys or galleries, with a passage

* The walls are 4 feet thick. The measurement given in the text does *not* include the *outer projections* of the towers, or of the gateway.

leading down into each. This *well* alone is well worthy of a visit.

ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS OF THE TIME OF JAHANGIR.

During one period of the time when Jahangir was still Prince Salim, he had a separate establishment of his own within the fort of Agra. It was a palace in a fortlet within a fort as it were, and it was called *Salimgarh.* This Salimgarh is situated to the back or *west* of the Moti Masjid, the Ordnance Department, and powder magazines. It is a high raised plateau with the remains of a kind of ditch around it *below.*

According to the measurements of this ground which I made, I found it to be an irregular four-sided figure of which the sides gave the following lengths :—*north* side 500 feet, *west* side 200 feet, *south* side 469 feet, and *east* side 362 feet; but, as the western side has been partly levelled down, or sloped off into an incline, it is somewhat difficult to determine exactly how far it extended in that direction. The northern, eastern and southern sides however are still steep and abrupt, and preserve their original outlines. There are *no* remains left of the *palace* of Salimgarh, unless the building commonly called "*Dansa Jat's*" house may *originally* have been a portion of the palace appropriated and altered by the Jat chief. This is a building with considerable architectural beauties. It has a fine porch supported on ornamental pillars at the doorway, and this porch is surmounted by a beautiful *canopy* supported on graceful pillars, and covered over at top with gilt copper.

The Red-Stone PALACE OF JAHANGIR in the fort of Agra was built by him probably *immediately* after the death of Akbar; but of the *exact* date I am not certain. From the elaborateness of the carved stone-work employed in the ornamentation of this palace, it must have taken some time to build. It is situated towards the south-eastern part of the fort between the palace of Shah Jahân and the Bengali bastion. It is built of red sandstone, unfortunately of an *inferior* quality which has not resisted the destructive action of the elements, particularly that of *damp,* and of changes of temperature. It is a nearly square building of about 249 feet by 260 feet.* The length of the *western front* at the entrance which faces towards the interior of the fort

* See Plate XIII for a detailed plan of Jahangir's palace.

is 226 feet 10 inches, including the corner towers. The breadth of the palace about the *middle* is 249 feet. The length of the *eastern* front, which faces towards the ditch of the fort and the river, is 240 feet, and the *depth* of the palace from front to back is 260 feet. It is in some parts a two-storeyed building. The *lower* storey has *no* windows looking out towards the *front*, but the *upper* storey *has several*. The upper part of the front is ornamented with an intermittent row of China or *enamelled*, lozenge-shaped and star-shaped *blue* and *bright green tiles* inserted into the red sandstone. There is the masonic symbol of the "*double triangle*" inlaid in white marble in several places on the front gateway, &c. The entrance gateway leading directly into the palace is very fine; it is in the centre of the west front, and it is the highest part of *front* with the exception of the two corner towers. The two corner towers, one at each end or corner of the west front, are octagons, of which the sides are 9 feet 4 inches each. These towers are *three*-storeyed, and are surmounted by elegant cupolas. The *outer archway* of the gateway is very fine and imposing; it is 14 feet 2 inches in breadth, and 10 feet 4 inches in depth. The entrance then narrows inwardly into an ante-vestibule of 9 feet 1 inch by 8 feet 2 inches. This leads into a beautiful *domed hall* 18 feet square; the stone ceiling of the internal *dome* having been beautifully and elaborately carved. There is a sort of raised wing or side vestibule, raised at a higher level on three sides of this domed hall; each of these side compartments being 16 feet long by 9 feet in breadth. A passage or corridor 27 feet 5 inches in length leads from this domed entrance hall directly into the *grand central court* of the palace, which is about 72 feet square. The *architecture* of this "*grand central court*" is entirely *Hindu* in character; the design is *Hindu*, the pillars of the side halls attached to it are *Hindu*, and the carving and ornamentation are pure *Hindu*. Indeed it is evident that entirely *Hindu* architects and artists must have been employed by Jahangir to build this palace. This grand court is surrounded by *two* pillared *halls* and *six* other *chambers* which enter from it.

There is a grand open pillared hall on the north side of the court, 62 feet in length by 37 feet in breadth. It contains *fourteen pillars*, *two longitudinal rows* of *four and four* or *eight double square* pillars, *two and two* or *four single* side square pillars, and four corner composite quadruple

pillars. The pillars support *bracket capitals*, richly carved and ornamented with pendants. The front row of pillars send out *out-hanging* or *projecting* brackets of exquisite workmanship, the inner angle of the bracket being filled up with a web of open work, composed of tastefully sculptured cross bars or braces. These front brackets supported a light awning or broad sloping eaves formed of thin slabs of stone. But the stone roof or ceiling of these pillared halls is the most remarkable feature about it. It has a narrow, flat, oblong, central compartment resting on four sloping side compartments, and this roof is supported most curiously by stone cross-beams, which are ornamented with the quaint device of a great serpent or dragon carved on them lengthways. It is altogether a wonderfully constructed roof,—a wonder of architectural constructive ingenuity,—unique and without a parallel in its design.* Architects will understand that it is a stone roof or ceiling sloping up from the four sides or wall plates to a *flat* oblong-shaped quadrilateral top, which crowns it, and which is supported by stone cross-beams projecting from the wall plates, with stone *struts* or trusses between them and the roof. A covered passage, or corridor, runs round the top of this hall, and from which one can look down into it. This I have called the "*Sultan's Hall.*"

The *other* pillared hall on the *opposite* or *south* side of the grand court is somewhat *less in size*, it being 52 feet long by 29 feet broad. It differs slightly from the *other* hall, in that the back row of pillars is *single*, instead of double, and that the interspaces between the *side* pillars and *back* pillars are *filled up* with perforated *stone lattice-work*. *Behind* this stone *lattice-work*, and round the back and two sides of this hall, there runs a passage, from which, I presume, the *ladies* of the *harem*, ensconced *behind the lattice*, used to look out upon anything that was going on in the grand court in front. We may therefore call this the Queen's or Sultana's Hall.

Passing from this grand court through a large chamber to the east, one at length arrives at a grand archway forming

* *Note by General Cunningham.*—There are several rooms in Mân Saib's palace at Gwalior roofed in this manner. but the finest specimen of this style of roofing is the dome of the great hall of the palace of Vikramaditya, son of Mân Sinh. The hall is 45 feet square, and the roof is formed by *curved* stone ribs which spring from the sides and angles to support a square, flat top. The openings between the ribs are filled by stone slabs. Externally the walls are carried up as high as the top of the roof, and the solid mass thus formed is as sound now as when it was first put together.

the centre of three sides of a quadrangle which faces towards the *river*. This archway, which I have been induced to name "*The Beautiful Porch*, is supported by two lofty pillars and two half pillars of exquisite design and workmanship. These pillars are of the more slender and graceful Hindu kind. The shafts are rounded and fluted on twelve sides, a succession of transverse *zigzag* sculptures running round the shaft from the top to a narrow neck near the bottom. The shafts run to a narrow double neck below near the bottom, and, being thus smaller at the bottom than at the top, look as if they had been turned *upside down!* The bases are four-sided, but higher than broad, and spreading out at the bottom, and are ornamented with sculpture representing a flowered device like the lotus flower between two broad spreading leaves. The *capitals* are, in outline, *counterparts* of the *bases*; but they are rounded instead of squared, and they are highly ornamented with sculpture representing a network of small arches, and they send out elegant *brackets* on each side from above their tops, divided by a central upright band of sculpture, which are most richly and elaborately sculptured with wheel and flower devices, the brackets terminating in a scroll. The shafts are of one entire stone each; the bases, capitals, and brackets above are each of one separate stone. The *entire* height of these pillars is 17 feet 7 inches. The *bases* are 2 feet in *breadth* at *bottom*, 1 foot 5 inches *above*, and 2 feet 4 inches in *height*. The *shafts* are 10 feet 8 inches in height, the *capitals* 2 feet 5 inches in height, and the *brackets above* 2 feet 2 inches *more*.

There is another smaller pillared hall in the south-western corner of the palace from which a passage enters into the south-western front tower. The front of this hall is supported by two square pillars in the centre, and two half pillars, or pilasters, on each side of the entrance. This hall faces into a long court, one side of which had been ornamented with an awning, or broad eaves, of slabs of stone, which were supported by brackets. These brackets, as well as the brackets which stand out from the capitals of the pillars of the small hall, have a particularly light and graceful appearance, the *under* angles of these brackets being filled up with open wheel-work.

There is an upper chamber immediately over and on the top of the inner domed hall of the great entrance gateway of the palace, which has a pillared front, looking down

into the "*grand central court.*" In this instance, again, there are beautiful *brackets* projecting from the walls; the lower angles of the brackets, in this case, being occupied by figures of a curious little animal, which seems to be a sort of compound of, or compromise *between*, a *squirrel* and a *parrot*, and which appears to support the bracket.

A good series of illustrations of these *brackets*, so characteristic of Indian architecture, would be well worth while obtaining for the purposes of the Archæological Survey.

Immediately *below* this upper chamber with the "*parrot-squirrel*" brackets there is a fine *chamber*, which enters by a once grandly ornamented doorway into the *west* side of the great "central court." This chamber is entirely lined with stone panel-work, and in the walls there are numerous curious little arched *recesses* ornamented with stone lattice and engrailed work. This chamber had a compartment at one side of it, amounting to about one-third of its length, partly divided off from the rest of it by projections from the wall, from which proceeded brackets ornamented with pendants, which apparently supported one of those flat-topped, graduated Hindu arches; and the floor of this side compartment was slightly raised *above* that of the rest of the chamber like a sort of dais. From the high finish and natty elegant ornamentation of this chamber, I have given it the probably not very inappropriate name of the *Sultan's Boudoir*.

Several other chambers in this palace are similarly lined with *stone*, the *small two*-pillared *hall* in the *south-western* corner of the palace (before mentioned) being one of them, and *this* also has pretty little arched recesses high up in the wall, which recesses are closed in with a grating of open stone lattice-work, which have a very pretty effect; and at one end of this hall there is a stone balcony or loft projecting over the room, very similar to a small organ loft, or to one of those balconies or lofts, for a band of musicians, to be seen in a few of the oldest baronial mansions in England; the balcony in this case being reached by a stair out of the room, and which stair branches off from the passage which leads into the south-western tower from another stair which ascends to an upper storey of the south-western front tower. But there are other chambers in this palace which are *not* lined with stone, but with *plaster* or *stucco;* the plaster or stucco having been in some cases

covered with beautiful painting on the sides, and fresco ornamentation on the ceilings (now damaged and faded), while in *other* cases the *stucco* itself is *moulded* into beautiful and varied *patterns*, such as minute chequer-work, lattice-work, trellice-work, and flowered bosses (or like embossed work in paper), which would afford novel designs for artists in house ornamentation in Europe. This *stucco work* has proved so durable that, in some cases, it has lasted better than the stone work, and has far outlived the fresco painted work of *other* chambers.

But for *minute* and *exquisite* ornamental carving in stone, the *great central court* (before described) is the place. The entablature over the pillars of the *side* halls, and a belt of upper cornice which runs round the other two sides of the court over the doorways, is covered with minute and elaborate sculpture in bas-relief, representing birds, geese or ducks, parrots, and fruits and flowered work. These ornamental carvings in bas-relief can only be equalled by some of the ancient Buddhist bas-reliefs, and would be well worth taking a series of casts or photographs of; more especially as the red sandstone in which these carvings are done is of such a *bad* quality that it is year by year and month by month shaling off and crumbling to pieces, and in another year or two these exquisite carvings will be entirely lost.

In some places, also, a kind of *ribbed leaf* device occurs very much resembling the Greek *acanthus*.

To return again to the quadrangle facing the river (before mentioned), the central point of attraction of which is the *Beautiful Porch* before described. From each side of this quadrangle wings run out, extending thence to the full breadth or side limits of the palace, and are parallel with the wall which overhangs the moat next the river. These wings leave a long narrow open court between them and the wall facing the river. The upper edges of the windows and the arches of *some* of the doorways, and the ornamental arched niches and recesses in the walls of these wings fronting the river, are faced with white marble beautifully carved into engrailed work, the points of which terminate with graceful oval pendants. These white marble pendants, wherever within the reach of a man's arm, have been knocked off and carried away.

On the top or roof of each side or wing of the before mentioned quadrangle facing the river, there is a beautiful

many-pillared square pavilion with a canopy-shaped roof in the best Hindu style of architecture. The pavilion on the right or *south* side has been bricked and plastered up between and over the pillars, and turned into a *dwelling house;* but the pavilion on the left or *north* side is still in its *original* state, and in a pretty perfect condition. It is perfectly open to the air, the canopy-shaped roof being supported entirely upon a double series of square stone pillars with the usual *bracket capitals* beautifully ornamented with elaborate sculpture.

The palace terminates on the side facing the river with a retaining wall, and two corner bastions, one at each end, each of which is surmounted by an ornamental tower, which is again surmounted by a domed cupola. The *wall* is inwardly divided into ornamental panels and recesses, some of the recesses being blind doors, as it were, filled up with sculpture; while *others* of the recesses are doors or windows which pierce the wall, and were places from which to look out on the moat and river below. All of these *latter* originally had their further sides filled up with a *grating* of beautiful *stone lattice-work*, through which the royal occupants could look out upon the world below without being seen.

There are many lower vaulted chambers underneath the palace in the thickness of the foundations of the fort which descend to the moat; but I do not feel it my duty to describe these here in this account, which is only that of the palace proper of which I made a *ground plan.*

I must not, however, here omit to mention that the outer face of the *outer wall* of the palace of Jahangir, overhanging the moat and facing the river, is ornamented with sculpture in a very remarkable manner, namely, on the *outer face* of this wall, *besides other* kinds of *ornamentation*, there are *elephants with bells* of large size sculptured in bold relief.

During one of my visits to the fort, I saw a large *elephant* sculptured in stone lying in, or rather sticking out of, the side of a heap of earth and rubbish near the artillery barracks. This relic I hope to be able to secure.

Before concluding this account of the palace of Jahangir, I should point out that I have reason to believe that a portion of the northern side of the palace must have been pulled down and altered by Shah Jahan. To the left-hand side of the tower at the north-western corner of the west front of the palace, which faces inwards towards the fort, a narrow

entrance passes in a slanting direction into a passage behind the tower, which leads into an open court, the northern boundary wall of which forms a portion of the palace of Shah Jahan. At the eastern end of this open court there is a pillared hall, from the inner side of which three doors lead into a long-shaped chamber at the back of it. There are also traces of the foundations of a similar corresponding hall towards the western end of this open court, close to the narrow entrance passage before mentioned, which enters at the back of the tower. Now, I believe that this open court with a pillared hall at each end (of one of which, as I said before, only the foundations remain) must have been constructed by Shah Jahan, for the following reason. On looking up at the back of the tower, one sees the ragged remains of a thick projecting wall of older date, which must evidently at one time have run back for a considerable distance, and would, in that case, cut the present northern open side court in half. I therefore think it is probable that when Shah Jahan built his *new* palace at the northern end of the *older* palace of Jahangir, that, for convenience sake, and probably also in order to be able to utilise a portion of Jahangir's palace, he pulled down a portion of the northern end of Jahangir's palace in order to connect his own new palace with it.

On ascending a narrow flight of steps in the thickness of the wall which divides the palace of Jahangir from that of Shah Jahan at the eastern end of the northern side court above mentioned, on the upper storey or roof I found a *hamâm*, or a series of bathing tanks. On the northern side of the largest of these bathing tanks there is a series of water pipe-holes, *i. e.*, nine series of three pipe-holes each, and over each of these triple series there is a circular stone with an inscription, or nine inscribed stones in all. On the first is written وفلته حمام خورد, on the second وفلته ابجوي on the third the same, on the fourth وفلته حمام کلان, on the fifth وفلته ابجوي, on the sixth فلته حوض کلان on the seventh the same, on the eighth وفلته مرغول, on the ninth the same. The pipe-holes are lined interiorly with *copper*.

BLACK MARBLE THRONE OF JAHANGIR.

The great marble slab, commonly called the "*black marble throne*," in the fort of Agra, was made for Jahangir, and bears his name. It is now placed on the upper front terrace

of the palace of Shah Jahan which faces the river, close to the railing which overhangs the moat, 47 feet 5 inches to the north of the white marble building called the "*Diwan Khas*" of Shah Jahan. Its dimensions are,—length 10 feet 7½ inches, breadth 9 feet 10 inches, thickness 6 inches; octagonal pedestals or feet supporting the stone 1 foot 4 inches in height. The stone has split through in a slanting direction near the middle. The presence of iron in some combination in the stone has given it a reddish stain in one spot, in consequence of which there are fables about the stone having emitted blood on two different occasions, but which I do not think it worth while to repeat here. There is an inscription on it running round the whole four sides of the thickness of the stone, and also two short lines below on the western side on each of the two western supporting pedestals. The inscription is as follows:—

On right pedestal.	چون شاه سلیم وارث تاج و نگین
	برتخت نشست و بست گیتي آئین
On left pedestal.	شد اسم مبارکش جهانگیر چو ذات
	و زنور عدالت لقبش نورالدین
On west face (left half).	بادشا هی که تیغ او سازد
	چون دو پیکر سر عدو بدو نیم
On the left or north face towards the two ends.	باشد این تخت گاه فرخنده
	تکیه گاه خدایگان کریم
On east face.	مسند خسروان پاي ملک
	مهر و مه را عیار برزر و سیم
	مسند با صفا زنور و ضیا
	گوهر بي بها چو در یتیم
On the right or south face towards the two ends.	پي تاریخ او بفکر شدم
	مددي جستم از خداي حکیم
On the west face (right half).	تا فلک تخت گاه خورشید است
	١٠١١
	گفت ماند سریر شاه سلیم
South face (centre).	سریر حضرت سلطان سلیم اکبرشاه
North face centre).	همیشه باد مزین بنور مهر اله

	Translation.
On right pedestal.	"When the King Salim became heir to the crown and seal,
	And sat on the throne and administered laws to the world,
On left pedestal.	His name became Jahangir as his nature was,
	And from the light of his justice he was denominated Nur-uddin.
On west face (left half).	A king whose sword
	Cuts his enemy's head into two halves, like the Gemini stars.
On the left or north face towards the two ends.	May this fortunate throne be a place at which homage shall be paid to many future kings yet to come.
On east face.	[The stone of this throne is] a standard for such kings as are on an equality with angels; a touchstone for the gold and silver of the sun and moon. The throne derives its brilliancy from the light of God; it is like an invaluable and precious pearl.
On the right or south face towards the two ends.	While I was thinking of writing the date,
	I sought help from Almighty God.
On the west face (right half).	As long as the heaven is the throne for the sun,
	Said I, may remain the throne of Salim.—1011.
South face (centre).	May the throne of Sultan Salim, son of Akbar Shah,
North face (centre).	Ever be lighted by the light of God."

The following is an illustration of the actual position of the various parts of the inscription as they appear on the throne itself :—

Top: [illegible]

Left side: [illegible]

Right side:

بیتی تاریخ او بفکر شدم

×

سریر حضرت سلطان سلیم اکبرشاه

×

مددی جستم از خدای حکیم

Bottom:

چون دو پیکر سر عدو بدونیم	پادشاهی که تیغ او سازد	گفت ماند سریر شاه سلیم	تا فلک تختگاه خورشید ست

A hitherto unobserved portion of the inscription on this black marble throne occurs in smaller letters below the inscription on the eastern side facing the river.

اسم نامي پيش از جلوس شاه سليم و بعد آن
نور الدين محمد جهانگير بادشاه غازي *

His name before his accession was Shah Salim, and afterwards Nur-ud-din Muhammad Jahângir Badshah Ghazi.

بلند مرتبه بآواز فلک چو حکم آله
سرير شاه جهانگير ابن اکبر شاه

"May the dignity of the throne of Jahângir Badshah, son of Akbar Shah, be exalted by the voice of heaven according to the will of God."*

I beg here to avail myself of the pleasure of stating that I am indebted to my friend Doctor Playfair, Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals, for a very excellent copy, and also a translation, of this inscription on the throne of Jahângir. The translation I have collated with the original, and I have taken the liberty of somewhat altering the language, and bringing it into a somewhat less crude and more readable English idiomatic shape.

The *hauz*, or *great stone bathing tub of Jahangir*, is an enormous circular cistern, or bowl, hewn out of one single stone. The stone appears to be some kind of light-coloured porphyry, or close-grained granite. It is 4 feet 8 inches, or nearly 5 feet, in height exteriorly, and 4 feet in depth interiorly, 8 feet in diameter at top, 6 feet 8½ inches in diameter at bottom, 25 feet 2 inches in circumference at top exteriorly, 21 feet 11 inches in circumference at bottom exteriorly, and the sides at top are 5½ to 6 inches in thickness. There are two side lower steps and a central upper step leading up to the top of the cistern exteriorly, and the same number of steps leading down into the cistern interiorly. Near the upper edge or rim of the exterior, there are *ten* longitudinal ornamental panels or compartments forming a ring round the whole upper part of the exterior

* This portion of the inscription appears never to have been noticed hitherto, except by the Revd. Mr. Tribe, when Chaplain of Agra, and by myself. These two short inscriptions are engraved in the stone, while the rest of the inscription round the sides of the throne is in raised letters.

of the cistern, each of which panels contains (or rather *once* contained, for many of them are defaced,) portions of a long *inscription* in the Persian character, which forms lines or verses of *poetry*. Several of these inscribed panels or compartments have been so defaced that the letters are entirely gone; in others there are only small fragments or portions of letters; and in only one or two of the panels is there any perfect unbroken portion of the inscription remaining. From two of the panels, however, one is able to read that this was a *hauz* made for Jahângir, the son of Akbar Shah. The panels are ornamented with sculptured flower devices twining round and between the letters of the inscription.

The following are copies of all the fragments of the inscription that can be read in the various panels:—

نهان شد از خجالت .... جهانگیرے 1
و ملك و دین شاه جهانگیر بن شاه اکبر 2
هشان که تد بیرس .. .. ء .. ت 3
Entirely defaced 4
نشین .... کر .... ت 5
چرامین و شد 6
خرد مني ابت بنشین حوض دلفرے 7
ملکیش منحراست .... ر زمزمه شد 8
واقفت این زهر شد .... انندے 9
بهشت که دا .... ازو جه‌مد کشا 10

This *hauz* is said to have originally stood in one of the courts of Jahângir's palace. It was afterwards removed from thence and placed in front of the great "*Diwan Am,*" or *Public Throne Hall*, in the hollow in the centre of the fort, which is now used as an *armoury*. It was at length removed altogether from the fort and placed in the *public gardens*, commonly called by the natives the "*Kampani Bagh*," where it now stands.

MASJID OF MOTAMID KHAN, TREASURER OF JAHANGIR, IN THE KASHMIRI BAZAR, AGRA.

In concluding my notice of the architectural remains of the time of Jahângir, it may be as well that I should add a short description of a Masjid in the Kashmiri Bazar of Agra, which was built by Motamid Khan, the Treasurer, or

Bakhshi, of Jahângir. This Masjid is built of red sandstone. The stone has plain dressing, with very little ornamentation. The Masjid is 53 feet 6 inches in length by somewhat of upwards of 20 feet in breadth. It has *three* domes, and an octagonal tower at each front end corner, with a *taj* or apse at back, projecting 1 foot, and 21 feet 2 inches in length.

The mausoleum of *Itimad-ud-daulah* is situated on the opposite or east side of the river from Agra,—that is, on the left bank of the river Jamna, close to and to the north side of the eastern end of the pontoon bridge.

This mausoleum is stated by certain native authorities to have been built by, or for, Ghaias Beg, who lived both in the time of Akbar and Jahângir, and became the High Treasurer of Jahângir.* Sir William Sleeman, however, in his "*Rambles and Recollections*," says—"The tomb contains, "in the centre, the remains of *Khwaja Aeeas*, one of the most "prominent characters of the reign of Jahângir, and those of "his wife. The remains of the other members of his family "repose in rooms all around them, and are covered with "slabs of marble richly cut. * * * * "Khwaja Aeeas, a native of western Tartary, left that country "for India, where he had some relations at the imperial "court who seemed likely to secure his advancement. " * * * * * * Asuf Khan, a distant "relation of Aeeas, held high place at court, and was much "in the confidence of the Emperor. He made his kinsman "his private secretary. Much pleased with his diligence "and ability, Asuf soon brought his merits to the notice of "Akbar, who raised him to the command of a thousand "horses, and soon after appointed him master of the house- "hold. From this, he was afterwards promoted to that of "Etmad od doulah [*i. e.* Itimâd-ud-daulah], or High Trea- "surer, one of the first ministers."—Sleeman then goes on to speak of *his daughter* (of whose birth in the desert he also gives a very interesting account). This daughter of Khwaja Aeeas, alias *Ghaias* Beg, married a noble Pathan named Shir Afghan, whom Prince Salim, afterwards Jahangir, caused to be killed, in order to gain possession of her.† She after-

* See Seal Chand's "*Tafrih ul Imárat.*"

† *Note by General Cunningham.*—The title of Shir was *Afkan*, the "lion-killer," and not Afghan. He was not assassinated by Prince Salim before the death of Akbar, but after his accession to the throne, and after he had assumed the name of Jahangir.

wards became as Nur Jahan, the beautiful, clever, influential, and intriguing queen of Jahângir.

This mausoleum is a square building of 69 feet 2 inches each side, exteriorly. There is a beautiful octagonal tower at each corner, of which seven sides are visible, and project from the building, each of the sides measuring 4 feet 9 inches in breadth. The building is entirely composed of, or rather encased in or faced with, white marble exteriorly, and partly interiorly, which is beautifully inlaid with *mosaic work*. It contains *nine* chambers, namely, *four* long-shaped side chambers, 23 feet 4½ inches in length by 13 feet 1¾ inch in breadth,—*four* square corner chambers, measuring 13 feet 1¾ inch each side,—and *one* large square central chamber, measuring 22 feet 1 inch each side. The outer walls are 5 feet 6 inches in thickness, the side partition walls 4 feet 2½ inches in thickness, and the central partition walls 4 feet 9¾ inches in thickness. There is a beautiful arched entrance in the centre of each of the four sides, 7 feet 8 inches in breadth. On each side of each of these entrances there is a narrow recess, or window, 3 feet 10 inches in breadth, filled up with beautiful perforated marble lattice-work, at its outer side. On each side of the last, again, and between them and the corner towers, there are still more beautiful arched window recesses, 6 feet 6 inches in breadth exteriorly, and 3 feet 10 inches in breadth interiorly. In the centre of this window, and dividing the wider exterior from the narrower interior, there is a beautiful screen of perforated marble lattice-work. Each chamber has a door-way leading into the one next adjoining it; but the central chamber has only *one open* door,—the *other three* corresponding recesses, simulating doors, being filled up with beautiful perforated marble lattice-work screens similar to those before described.

The actual doorway into the central chamber is on the south side. In the middle of the central chamber there are two marble tombs (of *Ghaias* Beg, alias Khwaja Aeeas, and his wife) standing on a low raised platform of variegated stone, 6 feet 6 inches by 5 feet 5 inches. The tomb of the *lady* is exactly in the *centre*, but that of her *husband* is placed a little on *one side* towards the *west*. There are no inscriptions on these two tombs. In the north-eastern corner chamber there are also two marble tombs, one of a male and the other of a female, and on one of them there

is an inscription, which, however, consists merely of religious texts, or of quotations from the *Qurán*. In each of the other three corner chambers, also, there is a single marble tomb.* All these tombs, or rather tombstones, are placed, longitudinally, north and south, according to the usual Muhammadan custom. The sides of the central chamber are lined with marble inlaid with mosaics, representing flowers, but the roof (which is arched up to a sort of flat dome) is lined with fine stucco work, embellished with rich and beautiful flowered and other devices in colours, and gilding, the whole being permeated, or each device divided off, by a sort of painted network. The *side* chambers are panelled to a height of about 4 feet from the floor, with slabs of marble inlaid with plainer mosaic work, but the *upper* part of the walls, and the ceiling of the side chambers, are lined with plaster, ornamented on the sides with beautiful paintings of flowers and representations of long-necked vases; and on the ceiling with a network of devices in colours and gilding, but which have, of late years, become very much tarnished and defaced.

In the thickness of the outer wall of the southern side chamber, there are two separate flights of stairs, entered from two side recesses in the chamber, which ascend to the roof, or rather to the second storey of the mausoleum. On the centre of this upper storey there is a beautiful square-shaped marble *chatri*, or pavilion, measuring 25 feet 8 inches each side, exteriorly, and raised on a low platform 31 feet 8 inches square. This upper building is covered by a canopy-shaped roof, sending out broad sloping eaves composed of marble slabs, on all four sides. The sides of this upper building are almost entirely composed of marble open-work screens, or perforated marble lattice-work, divided into twelve compartments (arched above) by eight side and four corner square-shaped marble supports, or pillars. The eastern and western sides are pierced by doorways. In the case of the western doorway facing the river, however, all the marble lattice-work has been broken away from above it. In the centre of this upper chamber there are two marble *cenotaphs*, which are the exact counterparts of the two marble tombs in the central chamber below. The *interior* dimensions of this upper building are

* Thus there are *seven tombs*, altogether, in this mausoleum.

22 feet 7½ inches each side. The whole of the flat roof of the lower storey of the mausoleum surrounding this upper building is paved with marble.

I before mentioned that there are octagonal towers, faced with marble, at each corner of the mausoleum. Each of these towers spreads out into a beautiful balcony supported by brackets, where they reach the top or roof of the mausoleum. Above this, the towers become circular, and rise to a considerable height above the mausoleum, until they again spread out into a graceful balcony supported by brackets, and are finally surmounted by handsome marble-domed cupolas, supported on eight graceful slender marble pillars, with arches between. A stair ascends to the top of each of these towers. The roof of the mausoleum spreads out beyond the building on each side, and this projection on all sides is supported by brackets. There was originally a marble railing along the edge of each side of the marble platform of the roof, but this has been destroyed, probably by the Jâts or Mahrattas. The Jâts, at least, are accused of having robbed this beautiful mausoleum of the greater portion of the inlaid stones of the mosaics, to which the numerous empty stoneless sockets at the present day bear witness. I however fear that the robbery of the exquisite mosaics of the mausoleum of Itimad-ud-daulah is not attributable altogether to either the Jâts or the Mahrattas, but that the makers of models in stone and marble, for which Agra is unfortunately celebrated, have, for years past, carried on a system of pilfering of the mosaics of the less watchfully cared for buildings about Agra. The stones which composed these mosaics were originally brought from great distances, and from many various quarters, and at an enormous expenditure of money; and therefore it cannot be supposed that the native stone-workers of Agra spend their lacs of rupees, like Shah Jahân, in order to bring these large-sized pieces of agate and other precious stones and gems from all quarters, simply for the miniature mosaics and ornamental models, boxes, and plates which they manufacture for sale to Europeans. I myself have seen in the shops, or show-rooms, of the native ornamental stone-workers of Agra fragments which I am certain—nay, which I could swear—were simply pilfered from the various marble buildings inlaid with mosaics at Agra. No doubt these men give sufficiently liberal presents to the *mâlis, or chowkidars*, or other persons in

charge of these buildings, in order to be allowed to pick out all the easily loosened stones of the mosaics at their pleasure, and have nothing said about it. This matter should most certainly be looked after and enquired into by the Government of India. In the name of the beautiful, but secretly sadly ill-used, ancient buildings of Agra, I would beg to prefer my request to the head of the Archæological Survey that he will do all in his power to move the Government of India to put a stop for ever to this base system of pilfering, and to prevent these exquisite buildings from being robbed of all that makes them beautiful.

The mausoleum of Itimad-ud-daulah is built upon a raised platform of red sandstone, of 150 feet 10 inches in length each side, and between 30 and 40 feet in breadth. It was originally surmounted by a stone railing at the edge, which has been destroyed. On the east and west sides there are the remains of square tanks, in which fountains formerly played.

The mausoleum is surrounded by a great walled enclosure, open towards the river front or western side. There is a grand ornamental gateway in the centre of the eastern side, 64 feet in length and 30 feet in breadth. The dimensions of the walled enclosure which surrounds the mausoleum are 540 feet each side. There are towers at each of the four corners of this enclosure, those towards the river front being the finest. These towers are built of red sandstone. There is an ornamental building of red sandstone at the centre of the river front, 67 feet in length, which is occasionally used as a temporary residence by the European residents of Agra for change of air. There is also an ornamental red sandstone building at the middle of each *side* of the enclosure, each of these side buildings being 70 feet in length.

On the centre of the river face of the low frontage wall, or embankment of masonry facing the river, there is a representation of a *fish* carved in white marble. There is an interesting traditionary legend connected with this *fish*, to the effect that when the waters of the river Jamna, in their rise during the rains, reach the *mouth* of this *fish*, then Allahabad will be submerged. This year (1871), owing to the excessive fall of rain, the water rose to a height several feet entirely *above* the *fish* (some say that it reached a height of 6 feet above the *fish*); but although Allahabad perhaps came very near being submerged, yet, nevertheless, it escaped actual submergence.

ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS OF THE TIME OF SHAH JAHAN.

The Palace of Shah Jahan.

The measurement of numerous other, perhaps less known, but equally important, buildings in and about Agra did not leave me time to make a regular survey of *this* palace; and it appeared to me that my instructions did not absolutely require me to make a ground plan of it. Moreover, I had reason to believe that General Cunningham had already, some time ago, secured the measurements of this palace. I may simply state that it is situated immediately on the north side, and adjoining the red stone palace of Jahângir. It is entered by a narrow passage, a short distance to the left, or north, of the north-western front tower of the palace of Jahângir. There may probably, in old times, have been a grander entrance, now closed up; but through the narrow passage above mentioned one enters immediately into a grand court (somewhere about one hundred feet square) with a paved way all round the sides, and having a garden (and originally also fountains) in the middle of the area. Beyond this (and between it and the retaining wall overhanging the moat next the river) there is a narrower court, and also a long alley, or passage, at a lower level running north and south, and a raised terrace. This portion of the palace of Shah Jahan is built of red-coloured sandstone, varied here and there with plastered brick-work; but it has none of those thoroughly Indian features which distinguish the red stone palace of Jahângir. The interior courts are elegant as a whole, but are otherwise rather plain in their details (at least as compared to the richly sculptured stone-work in the older palace of Jahângir); and with the exception of those general, but here more slightly marked, Indian characteristics which might naturally be expected, would not afford any very wide contrast to the open garden courts in some of the old mansions in the south of Spain and Italy; the prevailing *Indian* characteristics being the small size of the apartments and the narrow stairs and passages, and the wide slanting verandahs, like eaves, or stone awnings, formed of broad thin slabs of stone, which project from, and once gave sheltering shade to, the front of the buildings of the courts. On going beyond the courts of the palace itself, one ascends to a high raised terrace which overlooks the moat next the river.

Here one first comes to a beautiful octagonal marble pavilion covered by a gilt cupola, which crowns or surmounts one of the towers or high bastions. This beautiful marble pavilion has, of late years, been showing a very strong inclination to topple over down into the moat below (a height of somewhere about 60 or 70 feet), and has been leaning over and cracking every year more and more. This was owing to a sinking of, and a vertical fissure in, the tower or bastion below, on the summit of which the marble pavilion rests. The Government, however, at length took compassion on the tottering condition of this "*thing of beauty*," which had very nearly become– *not* "*a joy for ever*," but a delight of the eyes lost for ever, and they have of late been propping it up and repairing it. Close to the west of this there is a marble-pillared side building; and the next thing which strikes one's view is a beautiful marble building, famous for its great and most exquisitely beautiful white marble open lattice-work screen, which was used on grand occasions as a state hall by the ladies of the court. Beyond this is the beautiful and famous many-pillared white marble building, inlaid interiorly with mosaic work, called the "*Diwán Khas*." *Forty-seven* feet 5 inches to the *north* of the *Diwán Khas*, in the front of the centre of the open part of the great terrace, is the *black marble throne* of Jahângir, described in the preceding portion of my report. Towards the northern side of the buildings of the palace of Shah Jahan are the *Hamams* or royal baths. One of these is the "*Shish Mahal*," or more properly *Shish Hamam*, the sides and ceiling of which are lined or spangled over with small miniature mirrors of irregular shape, or rather with bits of glass originally backed with some composition having the same effect as quicksilver, and which are set in plaster. From one of these *Hamams*, it is said that a former Governor General of India (the Marquis of Hastings) removed a beautiful white marble bath, which was presented to the British Sovereign.* Beyond this again, further towards the north, in an elevated position, but the features of which have been very much changed by alterations to suit the

* Sir William Sleeman, in his "*Rambles and Recollections*," says—"The Marquis of "Hastings, when Governor General of India, broke up one of the most beautiful baths of "this palace to send home to George IV, Kingof England, then Prince Regent, and the "rest of the marble of the suite of apartments from which it had been taken, with all its "exquisite fretwork and mosaic, was afterwards sold by auction, on account of our Government, by order of the then Governor General, Lord W. Bentinck."

convenience of the inmates of the fort, there are the remains of a series of very fine white marble railings; and it is said that other fine buildings of Shah Jahan (some of marble) formerly stood here, which have in later times been pulled down.

Immediately to the back or west of the palace of Shah Jahan, but facing towards the west, and situated on the east side of a low hollow surrounded by earth-work, is the great *Diwan Am*, which is now used as an armoury. This building had originally either three or four grand arched gateways leading into the great court or area in front of it. Two of these arched gateways, one of which leads towards the palace of Jahângir, and the other towards the Moti Masjid, are in a very perfect condition; but the one on the south side, in the direction of the palace of Jahângir, is stopped up with brickwork and plaster. Near this gate there are some old Muhammadan tombs. Of travellers and tourists, and writers of "*Guides*," some have attributed this building to Akbar, and others to Jahângir; but I have every reason to believe that it was built by Shah Jahan, and was his great *Diwan Am*, or public hall of audience.. This *Diwan Âm* was originally an *open* building built of red sandstone, and resting on a double series of square pillars standing on square-shaped bases higher than their breadth and bevelled off at the top corners. Engrailed arches, so characteristic of Shah Jahan's time, rise from and between the pillars, and must have given a light appearance to the building; but the British authorities have filled up the interspaces between the outer range of pillars with brick-work, and covered the whole, both inside and outside, with whitewash. The back or eastern side of the *Diwan-i-Am* is formed into a beautiful two-storeyed colonnade; and from each end of the building a long colonnade extends on each side, that is on the north and south sides, running from east to west, thus forming a grand colonnade court. Beyond the east end lies the grand raised terrace with the black marble throne in its mid-front, and the beautiful many-pillared *Diwan-i-Khas* somewhat to one side. Thus the black marble throne immediately overlooks the great quadrangle facing the *Diwan-i-Am*.

Immediately close to the north end of this *Diwan Am* is a beautiful little white marble three-domed Masjid, called the "*Nagina Masjid*," which, as its name implies, is a perfect

little gem. It was the private Masjid of the royal ladies or Begams of the court.

This gem of a Masjid is as tantalizing as beautiful, for it is built up, or built in, or built out (I hardly know which to say) on all sides; and one cannot get at it, except by scaling the walls. This beautiful little Masjid, like almost everything else very beautiful of this kind, was built by Shah Jahan for the use of the ladies of his court.

THE MOTI MASJID.

This Masjid is situated in the fort to the north-west of the palace and other buildings of Shah Jahan, near the present Ordnance Department, and immediately in front, or to the east of *Salimgarh* (described in a preceding portion of my report), and to the north of the great *Diwan Am*, now used as an armoury.

The building of this Masjid was commenced in the year of the Hijra 1056-7 (A. D. 1648); it took *seven* years to build, and was completed in the year of the Hijra 1063 (A. D. 1655), in the 26th year of Shah Jahan's reign, about five years before his deposition, and about eight or ten years before his death. It is said to have cost the sum of *three hundred thousand rupees* (about *thirty thousand pounds sterling*).

On the entablature over the front row of supporting pillars, on the eastern face of the western covered-in part of the Moti Masjid, which was used for worship, there is a long inscription running the whole length of it, which reads as follows. The letters of the inscription are composed of black marble inlaid into the white marble.)

این کعبهٔ نورانی و بیت المعمور ثانی که صبح در جنب صفائی آن شامیست
تیره • و خورشید از فرط ضیای آن چشمیست خیره • کرسی پایدارش با سارق
عرش همدوش • و گنبذ فیض بارش با رواق فردوس هم آغوش • بنیان عالی
شانش تبیان لمسجد اسس علی التقوی • و ذروهٔ سپهر اقترانش ترجمان
فاستوی • وهو بالافق الا علی • هر گلدسته اش دسته نوری بانوار کواکب
بسته • یا فوارهٔ فیضی از چشمهٔ آفتاب جسته • هر کلس زرنیش شمع
فروغ بخش قنادیل آسمانی • هر محراب نور اگنیش هلال نوید رسان عید

جاوداني • بر اطرافش قلعه لعل فام مستقر الخلافت اکبرآباد که باز مردین حصار مبع شد ادیه پیوسته گوئي هاله ایست • و در بدر منور که بر فیضان سحاب رحمت برهانیست متین • یا دایرهٔ ایست گرد مهر انور که بر ترشح امطار کرامت نشانیست متین • همانا بهشتي تصریست والا • از یک لولوي لالا • که از سر آغاز معمورهٔ دنیا مسجدی سراسر از سنگ مرمر مصفا • عدیل آن بر روي کار نیامده • و از بدو ظهور عالم معبدی سراپا مُنور و مجلی • نظیر آن جلوهٔ ظهور نداده • بفرمان خاقان سلیمان احتشام و سلطان خلیل احترام چهره افروز مسلماني باني مباني جهانباني شهنشاه عرش بارگاه ظل الله خلایق پناه موسس ارکان خلافت • مرصص بنیان عدل و رافت • به یمین قدمش زمین را بر آسمان هزاران ناز • و از وفور نعمش آسمان را با زمین فراوان نیاز • بخت و دولت را از عشق خدمتش دوام بیداري • مُلک و ملت را باجمال طلعتش کمال هواداري • باد بهشت از خاک درگاه ملک جاهش در یوزه گري • آتش دوزخ از آب شمشیر دشمن کاهش وظیفه‌خوري •

بنائی ملک راز و استواری — اساس عدل راز و پائداری — مدام از چشمهٔ تیغ ظفرخیز

کند پیمانهٔ کفار لبریز — جنانش را فلک خدمتگذاری — جبینش را سحر آئینه‌داری

قطب آسمان دین پروری و شریعت نوازي • مرکز و دوران عدل گستری و مملکت طرازي • ابو المظفر شهاب الدین محمد صاحب قران ثاني شاه جهان بادشاه غازي بنا یافت و در عرص هفت سال بصرف سه لک روپیه اواخر سال بست و ششم جلوس اقبال مانوس مطابق سنه هزار و شصت و سه ۱۰۶۳ هجریه بیرایهٔ انجام در بر و تاج اختتام بر سر گرفته ایزد بی همال بیمامن نیت حق طویت این بادشاه دین پناه همگنان را توفیق اداي طاعات و اقتنائي حسنات روز افزون کناد و اجر دلالت و هدایت آن را بر روزگار فرخنده آثار این حق گزین حقیقت آگاه عاید گرداناد آمین یارب العالمین •

I will afterwards give a translation of this inscription, with my comments thereon, towards the end of this description of the Moti Masjid. In the meantime I have to make my due acknowledgm nts to Dr. Playfair, of Agra, for a very excellent copy of t is inscription. It was accompanied by a

translation, which was, no doubt, made by a *native*; but as this translation was very crude, and not altogether according to English idiom, I shall take the liberty of giving a translation of my own.

The Moti Masjid is 234 feet 3 inches in *length* from east to west,* by 187 feet 8 inches in *breadth* from north to south (*minus* the *projections* of the towers, the gateway, and of the western kibla apse), The actual mosque itself is raised towards the eastern end on a high mass of masonry, or basement, which contains a series of lower vaulted chambers under the eastern front and northern and southern sides of it; and a railed exterior gallery or balcony runs from the level of the entrance into the gateway (at about one-third of the height of the building from the ground), round the eastern end and northern and southern sides of the building, which gallery leads into a second or upper range of small side chambers, the roofs of which form the floor of the side cloisters of the interior of the Masjid itself. This Masjid being built upon sloping ground, which is highest at the western, and lowest at the eastern end, the basement of the building consequently decreases in height towards the western end, where the upper storey, or actual Masjid itself, at length comes to be on a level, or on the same plane with the surface of the ground at the back towards the west. The exterior of the Masjid is built of, or rather faced with, slabs of red sandstone, but according to the almost invariable, and I think unfortunate, custom in Indo-Muhammadan architecture, the centre or core of the walls is filled up with *rubble brick-work* (or *roras*) and mortar, so that there is a mere thin outer casing of stone-work, whether it be of red sandstone or of marble. This style of architecture would, according to Ruskin, be considered *untrue* and *not* genuine, or a mere *false* pretence *simulating* a stone and marble building, but which in reality is neither stone nor marble, but simply a building of which the walls are in reality composed of rubble brick-work faced *outwardly* with thin slabs of red sandstone, and *inwardly* lined with a veneering of marble; and I must say I would be inclined to agree on this point with Ruskin.

The *exterior* of this Masjid, when one is close to it, taken alone by itself, I consider to be anything but pretty; for it is

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* See Plate XV for a detailed plan of the Moti Masjid.

too evidently composed of a mere shell of thin slabs of red sandstone. And moreover the exterior wall is very bare and entirely unadorned, with the exception of a sort of balcony or gallery, before described, leading to small exterior side chambers half-way up, and a few archways below; and is too much of a plain straight-up-and-down red sandstone beslabbed structure. When so close to the red sandstone exterior at the *side* of the building, that one sees nothing of the marble domes or cupolas above, one might almost fancy that one was standing at the bottom of the high bare wall of some kind of jail or penitentiary. It may perhaps be an imitation of the straight-up-and-down square walls of the *kaaba* at *Mekka*, or might perhaps be compared to the straightly stretched straight-up-and-down tent walls of the Israelitish *Tabernacle*, petrified into red sandstone. The interior of this Masjid certainly is beautiful, it being entirely lined or veneered interiorly with white and blue and grey-veined marble; but the beauty or the illusion of marble solidity is entirely dispelled by the remembrance that the exterior consists of a mere outer shell of thin slabs of red sandstone, that the centre or body of the walls is composed of mere rubble brick-work and mortar, and that the inside of the building is after all a mere thin veneering of marble.

The walls which enclose the upper storey, or what is really the Masjid, are only about 3 feet 6 inches to 4 feet in thickness, including the outer casing of red sandstone, the central core or body of brick-work, and the inside lining of marble. The gateway, which is very fine, makes a trihedral projection from the centre of the eastern end of the mosque, and one ascends to the gateway by a broad and high pair of stone stairs or flights of steps ascending aloft from either side, north and south (the southern steps having been in recent times closed up by a wall).

There is an octagonal tower at each of the four corners of the building, of which five sides are visible in projection from the walls exteriorly, each side measuring 4 feet 5½ inches; and about 50 feet eastwards, counting from the western end corners, there is a three-sided portion of a tower running up *each* side wall, and which mark the commencement of the raised platform of the western portion of the Masjid which was used for worship.

The *exterior* of the gateway is of red sandstone, but the *interior* of the passage through the gateway, side, ceiling, and

floor, is entirely lined with marble. The gateway widens out in the centre interiorly into a vestibule 16 feet square, which has a domed ceiling interiorly. At each side of this central vestibule there is a sort of wing composed of a raised platform under a blind arch. Each of these raised side wings or platforms is 10 feet 8 inches in breadth by about 6 feet 2 inches in depth.

One thus passes suddenly from a very gloomy, formal, stiff, dingy, red sandstone exterior into the glaring *white marble interior* of the Masjid. When once *inside*, all is marble around with the exception of the crenelated tops of the walls which appear above like a red rim. In the centre, interiorly, of the northern and southern sides, there is a beautiful white marble archway corresponding in appearance to the gateway which is in the centre of the eastern end, but which are not gateways, but from each of which a pair of flights of stairs descend down on either side to two side entrances in the lower vaulted basement storey below. In the centre of the court of the Masjid there is a beautiful marble tank or reservoir 37 feet 7 inches square, in which worshippers used to bathe their feet before saying prayers; and between the south-east corner of the tank and the south-east interior corner of the Masjid, there is an ancient *sundial* composed of a low octagonal marble pillar about 4 feet in height with no gnomon, but simply two cross lines and an arc. A beautiful marble many-pillared cloister, 10 feet 10 inches in width and raised at a higher level than the pavement of the court of the Masjid, runs round the eastern, northern and southern sides of the court, but is interrupted by the gateway and the two side archways. The cloisters contain 58 rather slender pillars, with twelve-sided shafts resting on square bases; but at the north-eastern and south-eastern corners of the cloister the pillar is not single, but a quadruple one, composed of four pillars *conjoined* back to back, but which, *if* counted as *separate*, would make the whole number 64.

The *western portion* of the Masjid, which was used for worship, is a grand colonnaded compartment. with massive pillars of veined marble, and which is about 148 feet 10 inches in length by 56 feet in breadth interiorly, containing 18 massive square or rather cross-shaped pillars which are ranged in three longitudinal series, and 14 half pillars or pilasters at the back and sides of blue and grey veined

white marble; and the whole is surmounted by three white marble *domes*, of which the central one is larger than the other two, and which marble domes look very pretty at a distance, when their necks are hidden by the top of the building, but which are very ugly things when one ascends to the top of the roof and gets close to them. At a long distance off they look like great white pearls or bubbles rising from the top of the Masjid; but when one ascends the roof and gets close up to them, they look, for all the world, like *great white crocus bulbs* or *onions* turned upside down, or like great *petrified peg-tops* or *spinning tops reversed*, and resting on a thick ugly neck. These domes have, over and over again, put me strongly in mind of *Buddhist Dagobas*; in fact they exactly resemble Buddhist Dagobas planted on the roof of another building. The dome of the *Taj* also strikes one with the *same* idea when one is on the *roof* close to it. I am very strongly of opinion that those (whoever they were, whether Mughals or Turks) who first introduced this kind of dome must have copied it from the design of those Buddhist Dagobas which they met with in many countries surrounding them—nay, and which (as far as regards the Mughals of Central Asia at least) they might see plenty of in the territories which came under their own sway. It is strange, however, that the *domes* of the *Jumma* or *Jâmai Masjid* at Agra do not strike one so much with this idea. (Though an illustration of a Buddhist *Dagoba* of very similar shape may be seen in *Coleman's Hindu Mythology*, plate 31, figure 3.) The *domes* of the *Jâmai Masjid* may perhaps be called *Saracenic* (though I deny the correctness of the term), or shall we call them Persian? For most certainly, the broad, pear-shaped, full-bottomed domes (very broad at bottom, and with little or no neck) originated in Persia, for the *oldest* specimens of *this other* kind of dome may be seen in Persia at the present day, (I believe at Ispahan and other places) as well as the prototypes of the *Kutb Minar*. The domes of the *Jâmai Masjid* of Agra are more like *balloons reversed* than anything else.

To return to the great colonnade in the covered-in western compartment of the Moti Masjid intended for worship (mentioned above.) As above stated, there are three longitudinal ranges of six pillars each; the front range of pillars are on the plan of a square with a projection

at back. The central and back ranges of pillars are cross-shaped. The bases of these pillars are plain, but the shafts are elegantly ornamented with a *bead* running up each of the eight corners, and are somewhat further ornamented below where they expand or spread out at bottom on to the bases. Arches supporting the roof spring up from the four corners of the capitals of these pillars, and in the centre of three of the interspaces culminate at the edges of the domes which they converge to support. These arches are engrailed or ornamented with a wavy outline in what is (rightly or wrongly) called the *Saracenic* style (a term of which I am very much inclined to doubt and dispute the correctness of). With this last-mentioned exception, the pillars themselves and the colonnade taken generally as a whole, have *nothing* whatever of those *Saracenic* characteristics with which many people seem anxious to invest them; for the pillars and the general style of the arched colonnade have, on the contrary, really something very *Italian* about them, and, but for its lowness or being wanting in height, might almost be compared to the colonnades composed of massive square or cross-shaped marble pillars which may be seen in many of the mediæval churches and other buildings in Italy; and I think this affords a very strong evidence in support of the opinion held by some that an Italian, as well as a French architect, must have been employed by Shah Jahân. I myself do not believe that this massive Italian-looking marble colonnade could have been the conception of a native of India. The internal hollows of the domes in the ceiling of this colonnade, upon which the arches converge, are very shallow, like the shallow internal domes in the ceilings of Italian buildings, and are *not* compatible with the thoroughly Mughal Indian bulging out exterior domes raised on a neck which surmount the whole on the roof, and rise from the top of the building. The *bases* of the *pillars* of this triple *colonnade* are about 4 feet 2½ inches square in breadth, and the *shafts* are about 3 feet 4 inches square in breadth. From the central *exterior* dome being the largest, or larger than the other two, one would naturally suppose that the central *space* between the two central transverse ranges of *pillars* (the four middle ones of which support the central dome) would *also* have been the *largest*. But it is *not* so. For instance, the distance between the two front pillars of the central interspace is 17 feet,

the distance between the two middle pillars is 16 feet 10½ inches, the distance between the two back pillars is 16 feet 11½ inches, and the distance between the two back half pillars or pilasters is 16 feet 11 inches. Then, to compare with this, take the distance between the pillars of the two side interspaces, the middle ones of which support the side domes. In these two interspaces of that to the *left*, looking towards the west, the distances between the two front pillars is 17 feet; the distance between the two middle pillars also 17 feet; the distance between the two back pillars 17 feet 1 inch; and the distance between the two back half pillars or pilasters 16 feet 11 inches. Of the domed interspace on the *right* side, looking west, the distance between the two front pillars is 16 feet 11½ inches; the distance between the two middle pillars is 16 feet 11 inches; the distance between the two back pillars is 16 feet 11½ inches; and the distance between the two back half pillars or pilasters is 16 feet 11½ inches. The distances between the pillars in other two side interspaces vary from 16 feet 11½ inches to 16 feet 11 inches, 16 feet 10½ inches, and 16 feet 9¾ inches. The above are the measurements of the distances between the pillars, taking the pillars in their *transverse* ranges from east to west, transverse as to the colonnade, but longitudinal as to the Masjid. But if again we take the distances between the pillars from north to south longitudinally to the colonnade, but in the transverse line of the Masjid, we find that the distances between the pillars (including the interspaces between the pillars which support the central dome) vary as follows: measurements between the front and middle ranges which run from north to south (but measuring between east and west) 11 feet 7½ inches, 11 feet 6¾ inches, 11 feet 7½ inches, 11 feet 8 inches, 11 feet 8 inches, 11 feet 8 inches, 11 feet 8½ inches, 11 feet 7½ inches; measurements between the central and back range of pillars (commencing from the north end) 16 feet 10½ inches, 16 feet 10 inches, 16 feet 10 inches, 16 feet 9 inches, 16 feet 9½ inches, 16 feet 9¾ inches, 16 feet 10 inches, and 16 feet 10½ inches; measurements between the back range of pillars and the back half pillars or pilasters, 11 feet 9 inches, 11 feet 9½ inches, 11 feet 9 inches, 11 feet 8¾ inches, 11 feet 9 inches, 11 feet 8 inches, 11 feet 8 inches, and 11 feet 8 inches. It is thus proved that not only is the central interspace under the central dome *not* any larger than the

others, but also that the distance between *no* two pillars is alike anywhere, but that they *all vary*. This shows a very inaccurate and careless style of building.

The interior marble backing, or the marble lining on the interior sides and back of this western colonnaded compartment of the Masjid, is divided into beautiful panels which have sculptured devices in their centres, some of these sculptured devices representing groups and wreaths, and bunches of flowers of most exquisite workmanship.

At the centre of the western exterior wall, outside the Masjid and at the *back* of the kibla apse, there is a projection or *taj* of very peculiar form. The central portion of it is a squared oblong figure, which is flanked on each side by a conjoined or amalgamated group of four thin shafts with angular projections between them.

On the lower ground, at the southern side of the Masjid, and adjoining it, there is an enclosed court entered by a gateway towards the east, and containing some handsome but low-sized, or not lofty buildings at its western end, which were probably used either as a serai for travellers or devotee visitors to the Masjid, or else may have been occupied in former times by the *Mullas* and *Muazzins* belonging to the Masjid.

From a small doorway and passage which goes off on each side, just inside the great arch of the gateway, one ascends a flight of stairs which leads up on to the top of the Masjid,—that is, on to the top of the gateway, and from thence to the roof of the side cloisters. From these stairs, short side passages lead off on to four pretty little arched niches or balconies with pentagonal backs,—two on each side of the gateway, one above the other. These arched niches or balconies have a pretty effect in the high front of the gateway, and relieve the high sides of it from stiffness. Again, at each western end of the side cloisters, in the Masjid itself, there is a door which leads into a long passage at each side of the central western pillared colonnaded compartment, or place of worship. From each of these side passages three doorways look into each end of the western pillared compartment of the Masjid. Of these three doorways, on each side, the central one is open, but the two lateral ones on either side are filled up with beautiful screens of perforated marble lattice-work of exquisite patterns. From each of these side passages a stair ascends to two upper chambers;

and from these chambers again another stair ascends to the roof of the western end of the Masjid, where one comes face to face with the marble *domes*, which here, at close quarters, do *not* look at all so pretty as at a distance, but, as I said before, look something like great onions, or spinning tops, *reversed*, or the top of a great pepper box without the holes.

Each of the four corner towers and the two side towers are surmounted by marble cupolas; and at regular distances, on the summit of the side buildings, there are four beautiful little square-sided four-pillared white marble lanterns, or cupolas, which have a very pretty, light, and graceful effect. The summit of the gateway is also adorned with four similar marble cupolas, supported on pillars, and also with the (formerly gilt-capped) pinnacles of four "*gul-distas*" (or slender shafts) which run up the four corners of the front of the gateway. These numerous light and airy-looking marble cupolas produce a very exquisite effect on a bright moonlight night, at which time the Masjid may be seen in its greatest beauty. The summits of the walls are surmounted by crenelated red sandstone battlements.

From the top of this Masjid one obtains one of the finest views of the interior of the fort, the Taj, and the city of Agra, with the river Jamna winding past it.

I stated, at the commencement of this description of the Moti Masjid, that I would give a *translation of the inscription* which runs along the entablatures over the front row of pillars, on the inner front of the great colonnaded compartment, towards the western end of the interior of the Masjid. The following is a translation of the inscription, carefully made from the original by myself, with the assistance of a Munshi:—

"This bright Kábá and second Tabernacle of Bliss is as superiorly luminous as the bright dawn of morning is in comparison to the dusk of the evening; and the effect it gives is greater than that of the sun which dazzles the eyes on account of its brilliancy. Its firm foundations are equal to those of the heavens in height. Its towers are as benefit-showering as the rain-producing cloud canopy of Paradise. Its grand foundation indicates that it is a mosque set apart for adoration; and its turrets are equal in brilliancy to the meridian sun when passing through the zodiac, and they surpass it in height. Each of its slender flower-pinnacled

shafts is like a handful of brilliant stars clustered in a circular galaxy, or like a fountain of beneficent rays emanating from the sun. Each of its gilded pinnacles affords light to the heavenly luminaries; and each of its resplendent arches resembles a lunar crescent, such as is hailed at the festival of '*Id*.' On either side of it lies the fort, built of red sandstone, the citadel of Akbarabad, the walls of which are [to the Masjid] like the setting round an adamant; and as the halo round the moon is a sure sign of a coming fall of beneficent rain, so also is this Masjid [thus surrounded] an emblem of blessing. It may be likened to a mansion of Paradise, or to a precious pearl; for no other Masjid is lined throughout with marble like this, and its like was never produced. Since the creation of the world, no parallel to it has ever appeared Built by the command of the potentate, magnificent like Solomon, the emperor, the honorer of his friends, who maketh bright the countenances of the Muhammadan people, the founder of kingdoms, the king of kings, the shadow of God, the protector of the people, the prop of the kingdom. The earth being honored with his footsteps, and on account of his unshakeable justice, vies with [or emulates] the heavens; and on account of this inestimable possession, the heavens are compelled to acknowledge the earth's superiority. Prosperity and wealth are always ready at his service. Both country and religion befriend him on account of the equal interest he displays towards them both. The zephyrs of Paradise crave the dust of this sanctuary. As the destroying fire of hell, so his sword cleaves his enemies. He is the upholder of the kingdom and justice. His victorious sword ever thirsts for the blood of the infidels. Heaven itself is subservient to him. The dawn of the s nrise is but as his mirror-holder. He is the supporting axis of the heavenly faith and of the laws, the administrator of justice, the ornament of his kingdom,—Abu-al-mazafar *Shahâb-ud-din Muhammad Sahib Qirân Sâni*,* *Shah Jahan Badshah Ghazi.*

"This building was completed in seven years, at the cost of *three* lacs of rupees, in the 26th year of his fortunate reign, in the year of the Hijra one thousand and sixty-three (1063).

"God grant that the good intentions of this king, the defender of the faith, may lead *other* persons to make

* "*Sahib Qirân Sâni*" means the "second master (or lord) of the fortunate conjunction of the planets," an astrological phrase.

obeisance and pray for benefits at this hallowed place. O Lord of the Universe! Amen!"

THE ID GAH OF AGRA.

The Id Gah of Agra is situated on the south side of the city, near the village of Namner and the Sultanpur road, about half a mile south of the magistrate's katcheri, and about a mile and a half to the south-west from the fort.

This Id Gah was erected by Shah Jahan, and there is a tradition that it was built in *forty days*,—and for this reason, they say, there is no "*farsh*" or pavement for worshippers to kneel on, there not having been sufficient time within the forty days to lay it down.

This, like the majority of the old public buildings of Agra, is built of red sandstone. The Masjid or Id Gah itself is 159 feet in length by 40 feet in breadth. It has an octagonal tower at each of the four corners, and each of the towers is surmounted by a handsome cupola rising considerably above the roof of the building. The entablature of the front is supported by six pillars, which consist of square masses of masonry, with the exception of the two middle ones on each side of the great central arch, which are cross-shaped. The central archway in front is 23 feet 9 inches in breadth exteriorly, and the kibla apse interiorly is 26 feet in breadth by 12 feet in depth, and the taj, or exterior posterior projection of the kibla apse projects outwardly 4 feet beyond the rear or west side of the Masjid, and is 14 feet 3 inches in length. On either side of the interior kibla apse there are three recesses, or six in all, the central one of each of which three is octagonal, and the other two are square-shaped. The front walls of the building are 9 feet 3 inches in thickness. At each side corner of the *taj* projection at the *rear*, or west side, of the building there is a slender shaft or "*gul-dista*;" these run up aloft and rise in height considerably above the building,—and each shaft is capped by a graceful cupola. These two shafts or *gul-distas*, with their cupolas, are very conspicuous, and are seen from a very long distance.

The Id Gah stands in, and at the west end of, a great walled enclosure 566 feet in length by 529 feet in breadth, with one principal entrance gateway in the centre of the eastern side, and an octagonal tower 14 feet in diameter at each corner. The wall of this enclosure is 3 feet 4 inches in thickness.

There is no inscription of any kind now in the Id Gah, but there may have been one formerly; for, a few years ago, the building had fallen into a state of great disrepair, and was repaired, it is said, through the munificence of the Nawab of Rampur.

MASJID IN THE MOTI BAGH.

In the Moti Bagh there was once a very beautiful Masjid, which was built by Shah Jahan. It still goes by that name among the natives, though it has now become a mere open unenclosed waste piece of ground. It is situated immediately at the back or east of the railway station, on the other side of the river from Agra

About two hundred feet to the east of this Masjid there is a square red sandstone building, with low towers at each corner,—but now altered into a European residence, and very much covered with plaster,—which is said, in former times, to have been a residence or palace built for a favorite Begam, named *Moti Begam*, of the court of Shah Jahan. This building and the ground belonging to it were originally surrounded by a wall, with towers at the corners. Of the wall and towers only a few vestiges remain, towards the east or back of the square building last above mentioned.

The Masjid is situated about two hundred feet to the *west* of the square building, but it is doubtful whether it was originally included in the enclosure of the Moti Bagh at all. This Masjid now looks like a gateway, as the *farsh*, or pavement, in front of it, and the back or western wall of the Masjid itself, were *cut through* by a Mr. Mackenzie, who constructed the *pontoons* of the bridge at Agra, and lived in the square building before abovementioned; and it was *he* who cut through the Masjid and made a *gateway* of it. *A ground plan* and an *elevation drawing* of this accompany this report; in it I have *restored* the Masjid to what it must have been in its *original* condition.

It must once have been a very beautiful Masjid,—in fact, next in beauty to the Moti Masjid and the Jâmai Masjid. Indeed, *for its smaller size*, I consider that it must originally have been almost more beautiful than the Jâmai Masjid in some parts of its design.

This Masjid is 60 feet in length by 30 feet in breadth. It is faced in front with red sandstone. It is surmounted by three very graceful full-bottomed domes. At each of the

four corners of the building there is an octagonal shaft, or *Gul-dista*, 2 feet 7 inches in diameter at bottom, which run up to a little above the top of the building; and each of these octagonal corner shafts, or slender turrets, is surmounted by a beautiful lantern or domed cupola, resting on eight slender pillars,—and the base of these cupolas is broader than or spreading out from and beyond the narrow tops of the octagonal shafts which they surmount, and are supported by brackets,—which produce a very light and graceful effect. The central portion of the front of the building, which contains the grand central archway, projects about 3 feet forward from the rest of the building, and is about 1¼ foot *higher* than the two side wings of the building, and this projection is surmounted at each front side corner by a beautiful square-shaped four-pillared lantern, capped by a beautiful dome-shaped cupola.

The whole front of the building is faced with *red sandstone*, which is beautified and embellished with sunken panels which contain *exquisitely sculptured designs*. The summit of the front wall of the building is surmounted by an entablature or cornice from which *beautifully* and *floridly sculptured* "*kanguras*," or crenelations, stand out in bold *relief*. There are two other lesser arched entrances into the Masjid, besides and on each side of the highest central arch, namely, an arched doorway in the front of each wing. A wall 3 feet 9 inches in thickness, about 11 feet in height and about 6 feet in length projects forward, on each side, from each front corner of the building.

This Masjid is 28 feet in mean *height* to the top of the walls.

As I already mentioned above, the *farsh*, or raised platform in front of this Masjid, and the back or western wall of the Masjid were cut through in the centre by a Mr. Mackenzie, in order to make a gateway of it, and it consequently now looks more like a great gateway than a Masjid.

I would wish here to remark that I consider that, in the *Id Gah* of Ala-ud-din Khilji at Repari, near Bhateswar,—in the *Masjid* of Humayun at Kachpura, near Agra,—and in the *Masjid* of Shah Jahân in the Moti Bagh,—we have three of the finest and best illustrations of the *three greatest possible extremes*, or *contrasts*, in the style and architecture of Masjid building.

THE MUMTÂZ MAHAL, COMMONLY CALLED THE "TÂJ MAHAL."

It will be unnecessary for me to give either the measurements or a description of this well known and beautiful white marble mausoleum, so famous for its exquisite mosaics, and noble dome, and lofty graceful minars, as General Cunningham informed me that *he had already in his possession* a complete *ground plan* and *sections* and all measurements and particulars of this building.

It will be sufficient for me to give the historical particulars shortly, as follows. This mausoleum was built, or commenced to be built, in A. H. 1040, or A. D. 1630, by Shah Jahân as a mausoleum for his favourite queen Mumtâz Mahal, *alias* Mumtâz Zaman, *alias* Bânu Begam, the daughter of Nawâb Asif Khan, Prime Minister of Jahangir, who was the brother of Nur Jahân, the queen of Jahangir, and the son of *Ghias* Beg, *alias* Khwaja Aeeas, Itimad-ud-daulah, or High Treasurer of Jahangir, over whose remains the beautiful mausoleum of Itimad-ud-daulah is built.

The building of the *Taj Mahal* cost, according to *some* accounts, 1,84,65,186 rupees, and according to *other* accounts 3,17,48,026 rupees. It was completed in a period of upwards of seventeen or nearly twenty years.

I need scarcely mention that this mausoleum also contains the remains of Shah Jahân, and that it is situated, as is so well known, on the right bank of the river Jamna, about a mile and a quarter below the fort of Agra. I cannot presume to say more on this subject, when I know that General Cunningham has both the materials at hand, and the ability, coupled with the experience of a practised archæologist, to do it so much more justice than it would ever be possible for me to do.

NAWAL GANJ, OR THE GANJ OR KATRA OF NAWAB SALAT KHAN.

This building, or rather great walled enclosure, is situated on the other side of the river Jamna from Agra, about a couple of hundred yards to the right hand or east side of the Nunihai road, beyond the Moti Bagh and the modern railway station. It is at the present day commonly called "*Nawal Ganj*," which I take to be a corruption of *Nawab Ganj*, as it is said to have been built by a Nawab Salat Khan in the time of Shah Jahân. It was, at any rate,

most certainly built in the time of Shah Jahân. It is also sometimes called (whether rightly or wrongly) "*Wazir Khan's Katra.*" Now the question is whether "*Nawab Salat Khan*" and "*Wazir Khan*" were one and the same person or not. Raja Ram, in his "*Tamirat Agrah,*" calls this place "*Katra Nawab Salat Khan*" and "*Nawal Ganj;*" whereas Seal Chand, in his "*Tafrih ul Imarat,*" notices no place by the above names, but he mentions a "*Bagh mai Katrah Wazir Khan*" (a garden and Katra of Wazir Khan), and he gives the full name of Wazir Khan, as "*Alim-ud-dín called Wazir Khan.*" Now, in the *title* written on my *Ground Plan* of this great walled enclosure, I have *combined* the *two* names, and called it the "*Ganj or Katra of Nawab Wazir Khan.*" I think, however, that there must be a mistake somewhere, and for the following reason. Across the road, or on the opposite side of the road from the great building or great walled enclosure in question, there is a sort of enclosed village called a "*Katra;*" and immediately behind this, and between it and the river, and reaching to the bank of the river, there is a garden, containing a small garden palace, called "*Wazir Khan ka Bagh*" (which, by-the-bye, has been lately purchased by a native contractor in the Public Works Department). Besides the small garden palace which faces the river, there is in the centre of this garden a high octagonal raised platform of masonry, surrounded by a stone railing, and ascended to by steps, and underneath this, below the surface of the ground, there is a great vaulted chamber, into which one descends by another series of steps. The enclosed village and garden last mentioned, I believe, must be the true Wazir Khan's Bagh and Katra. But in Seal Chand's account, he mentions

تحت الارض را بمیانجي برو جهاي گردون گمبذ بر آسمان بر‌داشته

"*in the ground there are several towers with domes reaching to the skies!*" The man must surely have been mad! There is *no* such thing either in the Nawal Ganj, *alias* Katra of Nawab Salât Khan, nor in the garden of Wazir Khan. At each of the four corners of the Nawal Ganj, *alias* Katra of Nawab Salat Khan, there is an octagonal tower, but neither "towers under ground," nor "domes reaching to the skies;" while, again, in the garden of Wazir Khan there is,

as I before said, a high raised octagonal platform of masonry, with a sunken vaulted chamber underneath it, and there are also two corner towers of *moderate height*, surmounted by cupolas, facing the river.

It will therefore be better to call the great walled enclosure which I am about to describe either "*Nawal Ganj*," or the "*Katra of Nawab Salat Khan*."

The dimensions of this great walled enclosure are 374 feet 10 inches by 372 feet 7 inches, exterior measurement, exclusive of the outward projections of the towers and gateways. In the centre of the western and eastern sides there are grand gateways, each 40 feet 10 inches in breadth by 35 feet 8 inches in depth, through. Each of these gateways projects 10 feet, outwardly, beyond the line of the wall. These gateways are faced with red sandstone outwardly and inwardly. The walls and four corner towers are of brick. The walls are *lofty*, and are surmounted by *crenelated battlements*—the *usual finish* to the tops of all old walls in India. The towers are octagonal, of which five and two half sides project beyond the walls, and one and two half sides are included in the thickness of the walls. These towers are 17 feet in diameter, and each of the exterior sides measures 7 feet. At the centre of the northern and southern sides of the great walled enclosure there is a high building (one on each side) 38 feet 3 inches in breadth by 30 feet in depth, and these buildings also project 4 feet 6 inches outwardly beyond the line of the walls. The thickness of the outer walls of the great enclosure is 3 feet 9 inches, and of the walls of the towers 3 feet 3 inches. Along the whole of the inside of the four walls, in the interior of the enclosure, a double series of chambers runs their whole length, only interrupted by the two gateways, the two side buildings, and the entrances to the towers. These double series of chambers give an occupied width of 21 feet 9 inches on all sides, leaving an interior unoccupied area in the midst of the inclosure of 323 feet 10 inches by 321 feet 7 inches. There are *eleven* parallel double series of chambers (or *twenty-two* chambers in all) on the left hand, inner side, of each *gateway*, and *ten* parallel double series of chambers (or *twenty* chambers in all) on the right hand, inner side, of each *gateway*; and there are *eleven* parallel double series of chambers (or *twenty-two* in all) to the right hand side interiorly,

and ten parallel double series of chambers (or *twenty* in all) to the left hand side of each "*side building*." Thus there are 168 chambers in all which line the sides in double series in the interior of this great walled enclosure. There are stairs ascending to the top of the roof near each tower, two pairs of stairs in each gateway, one pair of which ascends to the top of each *gateway*, and the other pair ascends to the roofs of the *side* chambers on either side of the gateway; and there is a pair of stairs in each side building ascending to the roof.

The gateways of this great walled enclosure are very fine, and altogether the whole constitutes a very grand and imposing mass of building.

Opposite to the western gateway of this great walled enclosure, and about half-way between it and the public road, there is an ancient *Masjid* in a very ruinous state, which I should say was more ancient than the "*Ganj*" or "*Katra*."

ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS OF THE TIME OF AURANGZIB.

THE CHINI KA ROZA.

This once beautiful but now sadly ruined and defaced so-called "*china*," but in reality exteriorly glazed or enamelled mausoleum, said by some to have been built by Afzel Khan to the memory of Wazir Khan Shirazi in the time of Aurangzib, is situated on the left bank of the river Jamna, opposite Agra, between the Zahara Bagh of Babar and the Wazir Khan ka Bagh, about half a mile to the north-eastern end of the pontoon bridge. It is a square building, with one great central dome resting on an octagonal base. It measures 79 feet each side exteriorly. It contains a beautiful central octagonal domed chamber 27 feet 10 inches in diameter, with four pentagonal arched recesses, and four square recesses with doorways leading to side passages. In the central octagonal domed chamber there are now two tombs made of brick, one of which is in the centre, and the other a little to one side, or on the west of the other. The central one is the larger, and the other lower and shorter. These brick tombs are said to have replaced two marble tombs which formerly existed, but which have been destroyed. Besides the above central chamber there are also *four square* chambers measuring 12 feet each side interiorly in each corner of the building, and four long-shaped *side* halls, or

ante-chambers, one in each side of the building, which are each entered from outside through a wide and lofty arch, and each of which measures on an average about 28 feet in length by 15 feet 11 inches or 16 feet in breadth; but the northern and southern side halls are of a plain, oblong, rectangular shape, while the eastern and western, or front and back, ones have a pentagonal shaped recess or extension at each end measuring 4 feet 10 inches in depth by 10 feet 9 inches in breadth. These four long *side* halls or ante-chambers are open on their exterior sides, each being entered by a wide and lofty exterior archway in the centre of each *side* of the building. All these nine chambers are connected with each other by side passages. From the north-western interior corner of the southern side hall a narrow arched passage goes off in a diagonal direction, at an incline, downwards, and probably originally descended into the crypt below, but it is now bricked up at the lower end. At one side of the south-eastern corner chamber, and at the south side of the building, a stair ascends to the top of the building, but the entrance to it is now bricked up. There may indeed have been *other* similar stairs, the entrances to which have closed up in recent times. At each corner of the building there is a slender shaft or "*gul-dista*," which is probably twelve-sided or sixteen-sided, but shows only *eight* sides exteriorly. These corner shafts, or "*gul-distas*," are surmounted by graceful flower-shaped capitals, which rise considerably above the roof of the building. On each side of the central side archways exteriorly there are three ornamental projections which run up the building, one of which three, namely, the outer one on each side of the archways, is a half shaft, or narrow pilaster, showing three sides exteriorly.

Underneath the building there is a great arched crypt, which may be entered through an archway under the side next the river. In this there were originally tombs, which have been destroyed, or at least no longer exist. *These* were the *real* tombs, those in the upper octagonal chamber having been merely intended as *cenotaphs*. This appears to be the usual custom in all Muhammadan mausoleums.

This mausoleum is situated on the river bank at the western side of a great enclosure of masonry, which measures about 462 feet 9 inches from east to west by 323 feet 11 inches from north to south. At the eastern side

there is a gateway, which is in a very ruinous state, 40 feet 6 inches in breadth by 31 feet 10 inches in depth. A low wall, now destroyed, of 2 feet 4 inches in thickness originally surrounded the enclosure on the northern, southern, and eastern sides. This wall stood upon the outer edge of a raised platform, or terrace, of masonry, about 16 feet in breadth, which runs round the sides of the enclosure. At each corner of the river front there is a fine octagonal tower of red sandstone, surmounted by a cupola, 25 feet 9 inches in diameter, and each of the exterior eight sides of which measured 11 feet.

There is, however, a peculiarity in the form or course of the wall at the north-eastern corner of this enclosure which deserves notice. On the north side, at the distance of 253 feet back, eastward, from the north-western corner, the wall turns inwardly, or southwards, at an angle greater than a right angle, for 61 feet. The wall then turns north-eastward, at an angle greater than a right angle, for 112 feet, until it meets the back or eastern wall of the enclosure. This jog in the wall, or turning inwards of the wall at an angle, at the north-eastern corner of the enclosure was evidently made purposely for the following reason:—Immediately to the north of the enclosure of the *Chini ka Roza* lies the *Zahara Bagh*, which was constructed by Babar for one of his daughters (as described in a former portion of this report). Now, if the *northern* side of the enclosure of the *Chini ka Roza* had been allowed to *run straight on* eastwards, it would have *run into* the *southern* side wall of the *Zahara Bagh*. They had therefore at some point to make a jog in the wall of the enclosure of the *Chini ka Roza*, or to turn it off backwards and southwards. Now, this is a plain proof (even if there were not *plenty of other proofs*) that the *Chini ka Roza* was built some time *after*, or *posterior* to, the *Zahara Bagh and Mahal*, and that therefore the *Zahara Mahal* is *older* than, or was built some time *previously* to, the *Chini ka Roza*.

Under the wall and raised side terraces (before described) of the enclosure of the *Chini ka Roza* there are a series of arched or vaulted chambers, so that its enclosure may be said to be built on arches of massive masonry.

In front of the tomb on the *western* side, next the river, there are the remains of a *ghât*, or *quay*, of masonry, 50 feet in breadth by 64 feet in length backward.

The *Chini ka Roza*, being a mausoleum, is built exactly according to the points of the compass, *i, e.*, *due* north and south and east and west, and *not* parallel to the course of the river; whereas its next neighbour, the *Zahara Bagh and Mahal*, was constructed simply parallel to the course of the river without any reference to the points of the compass; and the two being close together, it was for this reason that the northern side of the enclosure of the *Chini ka Roza* (being the more recent structure) would have run into the southern wall of the *Zahara Bagh* (which was there before it) if it had not been *turned off* backwards at an angle.

A *ground plan* of the *Chini ka Roza* and its enclosure (showing all the particulars and peculiarities commented on above) will accompany this report.

This mausoleum, as is well known, is faced outwardly with what is commonly called "*China*" (hence the name of the mausoleum), but in reality with an exterior film or thin coating of *glazing* or *enamel*, which is *not China* at all.* Moreover, besides being called "*China*," it is commonly supposed that this building is faced, or encased with, "*China tiles*," put on *separately*, as Dutch tiles would be. But this is *not* the case; for, from a minute examination of the building, I found that, though there were shallow lines of demarcation between the coloured patterns, or mere exterior superficial compartments of coloured designs, in some cases somewhat simulating Mosaic work, yet that the exterior glazing or enamelling of this building was all of one piece; or, in other words, after the building was completed, and covered outside with an outer coating of some

* The thin outer coating which covers the plaster of the walls of the *Chini ka Roza* is certainly "*enamel*," and not *glazing*; for it has neither been baked nor burnt, nor subjected to the action of fire in any way as mere glazed coloured tiles would have been. True *glazing*, in the proper sense of the word, is a process which is applied to a substance which has either been subjected to a *baking* heat, as in the case of *pottery*, or to a *red* heat, as in the case of *China*. In other words, the coarse material which immediately underlies the thin exterior film of enamel on the *Chini ka Roza* is neither finely crystallized like *China*, not coarsely crystallized like *caustic tiles*, nor baked red or brown like *pottery* or *brick*. The glazed coloured tiles found on certain buildings in India are true *caustic* tiles, that is, tiles subjected to a red or incandescent heat until the substance has become crystallized, but not fused or melted (real *China*, on the other hand, has been subjected to a *fusing*, *fluxing*, or *melting* heat): while other kinds of glazed coloured tiles, such as have been used for roofing, or tile-piping in *hamams*, in some buildings in India, are of the same substance as baked pottery, and have been *baked* like bricks or common roofing tiles; but the cement or plaster which underlies the *enamel* of the exterior of the *Chini ka Roza* is neither the one nor the other, but is simply cement, or plaster or mortar, which has *not* been subjected to the action of fire, and has subsequently been overlaid with a film or coating of enamel, the process of the production or manufacture of which could only be determined by experiment. The enamelled exterior surface of the *Chini ka Roza* may therefore be called *encaustic*, in contradistinction to "*coctile*," "*caustic*," and "*fused*."

kind of durable plaster or cement, the glazing or enamelling process then began; and this glazing or enamelling was put on in such a manner as to form one entire and connected sheet, or undivided and indivisible whole (as much so as the polished or glazy-looking surface is, which is often given to the fine, coloured, or toned plaster which lines the dining rooms of some houses in England, particularly in London). In other words, the thin outermost coating of the *Chini ka Roza* is *genuine glazing* or *enamel*, but has been laid on, *not* in bits, or separate pieces like tiles, but continuously, either in one connected sheet, or forming large entire sheets, wherever any part of the building presented an even unbroken surface; but *superficially* divided into various compartmental designs of beautiful and rich colours, representing flowered devices and zigzag chequer work—the richly-coloured *flowered* devices being more like that which might be produced in *China* work, but the *zigzag chequer* work is so done as to simulate marble *Mosaic* work. There may have been parts of the exterior of the building, such as the border running round the summit, or parapet of the walls, or a border round the base of the building, which may have required separate glazed tiles to be laid on, or in which detached tiles, or separate square flakes, may better have served the purpose. But I treat of the *general* exterior of the building, and *not* of *exceptions* to the rule. Now, in proof of this, I may state that in numerous places this exquisite but thin exterior coating of enamel has fallen off, and where the *plaster* or *cement*, or *stucco*, which was immediately underneath it, has remained pretty perfect, I observed that indented lines had been traced and marked afterwards with some black colour, thus forming the basis, or first *rough tracings*, of the designs to be afterwards followed out in laying on the enamel; and on this prepared surface, on which the designs or patterns had thus been roughly first traced out—probably when the plaster or cement underneath was in a soft state—the glazing or enamel was then afterwards laid on in colours, according to the designs traced out. What a laborious and tedious operation this must have been, may well be imagined; and one is inclined to ask how they managed to keep one portion of the enamel *already* laid on from drying up and contracting before the next continuous portion was laid on, so as *not* to crack! To fix on coloured glazed tiles, which had already previously

been prepared, to complete the various designs in *parts*, like Mosaic work, or patch work, would have been nothing very difficult or wonderful, comparatively speaking; but to glaze or enamel a whole building, in one continuous sheet, must have been an undertaking which baffles our imagination and ingenuity at the present day to conceive how it could possibly be done. Compared to this, there is nothing so very wonderful or admirable in the mere *glazed coloured tiles*, such as one sees on the front of the red sandstone palace of Janangir in the fort of Agra, the Id Gah of Ala-ud-din Khilji at Repari, or on certain buildings at Delhi.

With respect to the similarly beautifully ornamented Masjid of Aurangzib at Mathura, I must say that I feel considerable doubt as to whether the so-called *China* work in that building is composed of separate and distinct glazed coloured tiles at all. On the contrary, I am inclined to think that it may possibly turn out to consist of *glazing* or *enamelling*, in one unbroken sheet, as in the case of the *Chini ka Roza*.

Indeed, for that matter, although the art of making glazed coloured tiles has very much gone out of fashion, from their being seldom used or required now-a-days, nevertheless glazed coloured tiles are, and can still be, made in India; for example—by a Kumar, or potter, named Ram Baksh, father of Munna Lall, Agra, at Delhi, at Lucknow, and in the Punjab; but to *glaze* or *enamel* the *entire* exterior of a building *in one continuous sheet* is, I fear, a thing which *no* one in India could now be found to be capable of doing, or to have any knowledge of.

One pretty little piece of deception, or illusion, has been practised in the zigzag chequer work on one part of the *Chini ka Roza*. I have already mentioned that on each side of the great entrance arches in the centre of each side of the building there are three projections (*i. e.*, three on each side of each archway) which run up the building to the top, one of which three is a narrow half shaft, or half *gul-dista*, or pilaster, showing three sides exteriorly. These are ornamented with zigzag work of light and dark colours alternately, which is so skilfully managed that the shaft appears to have *five sides* (nay, if it were perfect, it would probably appear to have *seven*), while in *reality* it has only *three*.

The lower part of the sides of the dome above the base has been ornamented with blue glazing or enamelling, now very much defaced and indistinct.

The south-western corner of the mausoleum has entirely fallen down, and the crumbling fragments or *debris* of it lie scattered on the ground. Indeed, the whole of this mausoleum is in a most lamentably ruinous and crumbling condition, partly owing to natural causes, and partly hastened on by the meddling and destroying hands of men,—unfeeling, inconsiderate, selfish men,—who, in their monomaniac *cacoethes carpendi*, consider the *possession* of a bit of glazing or enamel, knocked off by their own ruthless hands, to be of far more paramount importance than the *preservation* of a *building* to which there is no equal or parallel anywhere in the world!

The sides and ceiling of the interior of the chambers of the building were originally ornamented by exquisite paintings of flowers and other designs on stucco work, but of this painting only a few faint traces are left, the interior of the building having been as equally badly used, injured, and ill-treated as the exterior. In fact, the interior of the building, to the shame of the *authorities* (whoever they are) be it said, has for some years past been inhabited by a native farmer or cultivator with his family and cattle, so that the whole of the interior of the building has become completely begrimed with smoke, soiled and defaced, and is generally in a filthily dirty condition, besides being here and there plastered up with mud and cowdung.

Now as to the history of the *Chini-ka-Roza*. The common tradition in Agra is that it was built by *Afzal* or Afzel *Khan* to the memory of *Wazir Khan Shirazi*, who, Afzel Khan, lived during the reigns of both Shah Jahan and Aurangzib. He is said to have been a favourite of Shah Jahan's, who conferred the title of *Wazir* upon him, and there is a tradition to the effect that Shah Jahan used to say that he never heard Afzel Khan speak ill of any one! Now, as I said before, the *Chini-ka-Roza* is said to have been built by *Afzel Khan* to the memory of *Wazir Khan Shirazi*. But Afzel Khan *also* bore the title of *Wazir*, and *he* was *also* a *native* of *Shiraz*! So that Afzel Khan *might* be called *Wazir Afzel Khan Shirazi*. The question then arises.—Were not *Wazir Khan Shirazi* (to whose memory the *Chini-ka-Roza* was built) and (*Wazir*) *Afzel Khan*

(*Shirazi*,) (by whom the *Chini-ka-Roza* was *built*) one and the same person?

But here again arises a difficulty! For Afzel Khan was *assassinated* (literally treacherously *clawed* to death) near *Pertabgarh*, at a lonely interview (*a parley* during a war against the Mahrattas), by *Sivaji*, the Mahratta chief; and then the Mahratta host (which was lying watching ready in ambuscade) fell upon the *now leaderless* Mughal army and nearly annihilated it, only a very small remnant of whom escaped. This happened during the reign of *Aurangzib* in the month of October 1659.

Now if Afzel Khan was killed so far away from Agra at Pertabgarh, is it likely that the *few* straggling survivors of his annihilated army would pick up his mangled corpse and bring it all the way to Agra to inter it on the spot where the *Chini-ka-Roza* now stands? *This is hard to believe.*

Whose tomb or grave then is it over which the mausoleum called *Chini-ka-Roza* is built? Could there also have been a *Wazir Khan Shirazi* as well as a (*Wazir*) *Afzel Khan* (*Shirazi*)? Or may Wazir Khan Shirazi possibly have been the *father* of Afzel Khan Or can have built the mausoleum for *himself during his life*, as people have been known to do sometimes? But surely then, in the *latter* case, he would not have had the *sarcophagus*, or *tombstone*, also ready in its place, covering an *empty*, tenantless grave,—a grave with *no* corpse in it,—a meaningless sepulchre of pretence?

Seal Chand, in his *Tafrih-ul-Imarat*, says that this mausoleum (which he calls *Roza Nawab Afzel Khan*) was built *after* the death of *Afzel* Khan, and that *Afzel Khan was interred in it*; while Raja Ram, in his *Tamirat Agrah*, says that it was built by Afzel Khan to the memory of Wazir Khan Shirazi! But I fear that *very little dependence* can be placed on the wind-bag compositions of *natives* of the present day, who spin out pages upon pages of mere windy emptiness with as *little authentic matter* as possible, simply in order to gain the "*favour*" of some "*burra Sahib*" to whom their fulsome and flatulent compositions are usually dedicated.

I am really beginning to doubt whether *any one ever was interred* in the *Chini-ka-Roza!* Perhaps a reference to the writings of travellers and native chroniclers of the time of Shah Jahan and Aurangzib might throw some light on this subject.

THE JUMMA OR JAMAI MASJID OF AGRA.

It would be unnecessary for me to undertake to describe this building, as General Cunningham had already, some time ago, secured the measurements of it and executed a ground plan and sections of it. It was built by *Jahanara* Begam, the daughter of Shah Jahan and the sister of Aurangzib. A long inscription on this Masjid concludes with a statement that it was completed in the year of the Hijra "1058" (A. D. 1650).

The great peculiarity of this Masjid consists in its three great full-bottomed domes without necks, shaped like balloons reversed, and built of red sandstone, with zigzag bands of white marble circling round them. Its *grand gateway* was pulled down by the British authorities during the mutiny.

The Jumma Masjid of Agra, as is well known, is situated opposite the Delhi Gate of the Fort, between which and the Masjid there is the walled enclosure called the *Tripolia*, which formerly constituted a screen between the Masjid and the fort, but is now used as a market. This *Tripolia* is now about to be cut through by the Rajpootana State Railway.

MISCELLANEOUS REMAINS, OR THOSE WHOSE ORIGIN IS NOT WELL AUTHENTICATED.

The *Kalan Masjid* (i. e., *Great Mosque*) is situated in the city of Agra in the "*Saban Katra*, opposite to the present Medical School, and not far from St. John's Missionary College. I believe it to be the *oldest* Masjid in Agra. It is in that style of architecture which we may call the *transition* style which connects the Pathan with the Mughal styles. It has *five* domes; the central one is larger than the others, and I may give some idea of its style and shape by saying that, although it is very plain (being built of brick and plaster), it might almost be said to be a sort of rude miniature derivation from the style of domes whose origin may perhaps at a hazard be traced to the great masterpiece dome of St. Sophia at Constantinople; or to describe the, in comparison, humble and lowly central dome of the *Kalan Masjid* more particularly by itself, it may be said to be a dome standing on a perpendicular-sided base, which does *not* bulge beyond it, and which is

composed of, or perforated by, a series of small arches, some of which are open, and others have been bricked up.

This Masjid is certainly at any rate the oldest-looking Masjid about Agra, and is in a very ruinous state. It is built of old Hindu bricks of larger size and of a flatter shape than the bricks generally used in such buildings. The eastern front of the building was originally faced with red sandstone, most of which has fallen off.

I believe this Masjid to have been originally (at the time it was built) the one great Masjid of Agra. It is said to have been built on the site of a garden mansion of Hiraman, a Hindu, some few small fragments of whose more ancient buildings are still lying scattered about among the *débris* of the ruined part of the Masjid, one of which, a broken stone bracket, representing an elephant with human figures on it, was built into a small chabutra in front of the Masjid, and which I had taken out and brought to the Agra Museum. I have not as yet been able to ascertain from any native authorities in Agra who was the reputed builder of this Masjid; but I should not wonder if it were as old as the Lodi dynasty. I myself have reason to believe that it was built by Sikandar Lodi, and that (as I before hinted) it was the first great mosque that was ever built in Agra.

One respectable Muhammadan in Agra, of whom I made enquiries respecting it, said that he fancied it might have been built by Aurangzib; but *that is altogether impossible,* the style and construction of the Masjid being far *too ancient* for such a modern date as the reign of Aurangzib!

This building has several smaller buildings connected with it; but the dimensions of the *Masjid itself* are as follow: length 128 feet, breadth or depth backwards 33 feet 9 inches; mean breadth of back wall *without* the inner projections 5 feet 2 inches; length of *taj* at the back of the kibla apse 18 feet, and which projects 1 foot beyond the rear or western side of the Masjid. In the inner side of the back wall there are five recesses, 4 feet 4 inches in breadth, the four side ones of which apparently originally had little open arches pierced through their tops for the sake of light. These recesses are square-backed. The central or *fifth* recess, which is that of the *kibla apse,* is arched over and has a pentagonal or five-sided back. The entablature of the front of the building is supported on four

square-shaped masses of masonry with projections at back in the front of each wing, and two central cross-shaped masses of masonry on either side of the great central arch. Between these, and between them and the sides of the building, there are altogether five *archways*, of which the central one is the highest; but, *although* the central *dome* is the largest, the central *archway* is *not* any wider than the rest, the whole of the five archways measuring the same in breadth, namely, 13 feet 4 inches. At each interior end of the Masjid there is a recess corresponding to those at the back. These end recesses were probably originally doorways, but are now filled up with brick-work; that at the northern end of the Masjid probably passed under a flight of stairs into a small domed building adjoining which was formerly used as a *Tasbih Khana*. A flight of stone stairs runs up at the side of the northern end of the Masjid, and leads on to the roof. Immediately adjoining this there is a small domed building or *Tasbih Khana* before mentioned which has now three, but had originally four low hemispherical domes.

There is the remains of a great *farsh* or raised paved platform in front of the Masjid, 130 feet in breadth by about 188 feet in length. On the south side of this *farsh* or pavement, and projecting from it, there is a curious triangular-shaped building which was formerly used as a *Muazzin's* house, and which contains two cross-shaped chambers oddly placed, awry in respect to each other, and which it would at first baffle any man's brains to make a ground-plan of, until he had gained some conception of the actual twisted position of these two chambers. This triangular building measured 34 feet 4 inches on its northern side, 47 feet 6 inches on its south-western side, and 30 feet at its eastern end. In the western corner of this curious little building a flight of stairs leads up to a small balcony shaped like a square bay window supported on brackets, and surmounted by a dome-shaped canopy which projects outwardly from the back wall; a second flight of steps ascends from the southern interior side of the second chamber up to another similar little balcony There is also the remains of a third flight of steps at the eastern end of this triangular building which originally ascended to the roof. Beyond this, and still farther to the east and on the same (or southern) side of the *farsh*, or raised pavement, there is a curious triangular projection or addition to the *farsh*, measuring

67 feet in length on one side, 60 feet on the other, 38 feet 6 inches in breadth at the lower end, and 11 feet in breadth at the upper end. A small flight of steps leads up to this triangular platform from the ground below at its eastern end. I believe that these two triangular projections from the southern side of the *farsh*, or raised platform, in front of the Masjid were probably originally intended as slanting buttresses, or breakwaters, to preserve the platform of the Masjid from the erosion of the water during the rains in a deep nulla or ravine which runs close by to the south side of the Masjid.

On and towards the front portion of the *farsh* or platform in front of the Masjid, there is the remains of a *hauz*, or tank, the sides of which measured 30 feet by 27 feet.

Between the small triangular Muazzin's house, containing the curious twisted chambers (before mentioned), and the Masjid, there is a short connecting wall, 16 feet 9 inches in length and 3 feet 7 inches in thickness, and in the inner side of this wall there are three small arched recesses. Now I believe that on the northern side of the platform of the Masjid, a corresponding wall on a similar plan, with small arched recesses on its inner side, originally ran from the north-eastern corner of the *Tasbih Khana* to the eastern termination of the *farsh* or platform. This wall I have therefore *restored* in the ground plan.

A ground plan of the Masjid accompanies this report.

Ancient Hamam (near the Kalan Masjid).

About 250 feet distant to the *east* of the *Kalán Masjid*, but now surrounded by houses, there is a lofty building surmounted by a vast dome of extraordinary diameter, which was originally a *Hamam* connected with the Masjid. The whole style of this building agrees so well with that of the Masjid, that I have not the slightest doubt that it was built contemporaneously with it, and in connection with it.

This building is 60 feet in length by 34 feet in breadth, *exterior* measurement. The great dome which surmounts it is of the low hemispherical kind, or of an even-rounded hemispherical shape. This great *dome* is no less than 23 feet in diameter interiorly and probably 30 feet in diameter at its base exteriorly. The interior dimensions of the *Hamam* are 46 feet 6 inches by 23 feet 3 inches. but the two

ends are somewhat narrowed interiorly into a pentagonal shape. The walls of the front and back, or long sides of this building, are 5 feet 4 inches in thickness, and those at each end of the building are 6 feet 6 inches in thickness, but the corners of the building are of much greater and of enormous thickness. There were originally *twelve* entrances into this *Hamam*, but they are now built up, with the exception of the central one on the north side.

This *Hamam* is now used as a workshop by men who make fireworks. A ground plan accompanies this report.

The Masjid of *Shah Vilayat* is situated in that quarter of Agra called the *Naé-ki-Mandi*.

It is a mosque of comparatively small dimensions, but it is interesting from the fact that it is currently believed to have been built in the time of Babar. There is no doubt, at any rate, that it is at least as old as the time of Humâyun. It is thus probably the oldest existing Masjid in Agra, next to the *Kalan Masjid*, which, as I before stated, I believe to have been built in the time of Sikandar Lodi, Humâyun's Masjid at Kachpura (before described) being more properly *out* of Agra. This Masjid is named after a canonized Muhammadan saint, or *faqir*, who was considered a very holy man by the Muhammadans of the period.*

The archways or arches of the doorways or entrances into this Masjid are remarkably low, more like the archways into a vault; and connected with (or rather to account for) this fact there is the following legend. It is said that, in the time of Shir Shah Sur, a camel driver in the service of Shir Shah, arriving with his camels from a journey during the rainy season, stopped and rested at this mosque, which was then in a waste and lonely unoccupied spot surrounded by jungle; for the more recent city of Akbarabad was not then in existence. But the camel driver did more; he entered the sacred precincts of the mosque itself, and commenced to stable his camels inside it within the arches of the mosque. The saint or *faqir*, *Shah Vilayat*, who was present, expostulated with the camel driver on the act of sacrilege he was committing. The camel driver replied—"I am the king's (Shah's) servant, and these are his majesty's camels." The *faqir* then replied—"I am the servant of Allah, and I also am a

* I understand that a complete history of Shah Vilayat himself would be obtainable in Agra, but I do not consider it a necessary item to bring into a report of this kind.

Shah, and this mosque belongs to me." The camel driver then went and caused his royal master Shir Shah to be informed that a certain *faqir* had objected to his camels taking shelter from the rain in a small mosque. Shir Shah is then said to have replied, "Oh! let the old *faqir* talk on, and never mind what he says!" The camel driver then went back and stabled his camels in the mosque. The saint is then supposed to have cursed the camel driver, or at least to have threatened him with the vengeance of heaven. Presently the mosque commenced to sink bodily in the earth, until the tops of the two side arches had sunk down to a level with the ground and were almost out of sight, and only the top part of the central arch, just above the spring of the arch, was visible. The *faqir* then put his shoulder under the central arch and called out "*Enough! Stop!*" and the mosque ceased sinking. But the sinking of the mosque had enclosed and pressed down the camels so completely that they could not get out, and were, in a manner, immured or buried alive. In the morning, a report of this miracle having got circulated abroad, men came to extricate the camels; but the incarcerated victims were found to be dead, and the arches of the mosque had sunk so low, and so close to the ground, that the men who came could only manage to creep in through the central arch, and had not only to dig away the ground under the arches, but had actually also to cut the camels up piecemeal before they could get them out.

In front of the south-eastern corner of the Masjid, and built out from the wall at that point, there is a small low platform, or *chabutra*, or a low square-shaped seat, about 4 feet 5 inches in width, and projecting 6 feet 8 inches from the wall. Connected with this, there is the following tradition:—

It is said that on one occasion Shaikh Salim Chishti came from Fatehpur Sikri, and on his arrival at Agra entered the mosque of Shah Vilayat in order to rest there. Shah Vilayat was then sitting on the low seat (above mentioned) in front of his Masjid. As the seat was then not wide enough for *two* people to sit on at once, Shah Vilayat immediately rose up in order to let Salim Chishti sit down. But, wonderful to relate, this point of etiquette was very soon settled by a miracle; for the seat, of its own accord, began suddenly to widen out, until it attained to a

sufficient breadth for *two* people to sit on. Now, this miracle, if it occurred at all, must have occurred in the time of Akbar; therefore it follows that Shah Vilayat must have lived from the time of Babar till the time of Akbar, a thing which may be just possible, but is not at all probable!

So does a *dearth of truth and spirituality* ever produce its ready crop of *miracles*. If we have not winking pictures and liquifying blood in India, we have at least moving mosques and turning tombs, and lions coming out of lying *faqirs'* sleeves! (In the *latter* remarks, I refer also to two other miraculous legends current in Agra.)

There is nothing else very remarkable about this mosque. It is plainly built of brick and mortar, faced with plaster, and has *three* domes of that style belonging to the transition period before mentioned, which connects the later Pathan with the earliest Mughal architecture. The central dome (which is the largest) is, however, remarkable on account of its being built on exactly the same principle as the central dome of the *Kalan Masjid* (before described), namely, it is a dome built upon small open arches, which pierce the *neck* of the dome, and give light to the interior.

There is a range of buildings for the accommodation of worshippers and devotees connected with this mosque; and also an octagonal-domed building containing the tomb of Shah Vilayat standing near to, but detached from, this mosque. The *former* of these buildings is of much more modern date than the mosque itself.

The dimensions of the mosque itself are—length 46 feet 3 inches, breadth 18 feet 8 inches. It has three low arched entrances in its eastern front, the central one of which is the highest and broadest, it being 9 feet 8 inches in breadth, but only 5 feet 8 inches in height; and the central chamber to which it enters is somewhat upwards of 12 feet square interiorly. The inner recess of the kibla apse is square-backed, and only 2 feet 8 inches in width; but the *taj* or exterior central projection at the back of the building is 15 feet 5 inches in length, and projects 1 foot 1 inch beyond the back wall. The two side archways are very low and narrow, being only 5 feet in height, one 3 feet 7 inches in width, and the other 3 feet 6 inches in width. But, while the broad but very *low central* arch is the *original* one which is said to have sunk down to its present level, the two present small *side* arches are said to have

been constructed afterwards; and it is said that they were *cut through* the wall *after* the Masjid had sunk down until the tops of the original side arches which first existed had become visible, or were on a level with the ground; the *original side* arches having been, as is usual, much lower and smaller than the *central* arch, in consequence of which *they* disappeared *altogether before* the *central* arch had sunk quite so low. Hence, according to the tradition concerning them, the *present side* arches were *afterwards* cut through the wall, *over* and on the *top* of the *original* sunken side arches. The two side compartments or chambers are each about 12 feet square. The walls of this Masjid are about 3 feet in thickness.

From the north-eastern corner of the Masjid, a long modern building, or serai, or rather a pillared cloister, 64 feet 5½ inches in length and about 11 feet in breadth, runs eastwards. A wall 9 feet 9 inches in length then runs southwards, until it meets a small gateway building facing the Masjid, which is *solid outside*, but is supported on four *pillars*, 3 feet apart, *inside*, and which gateway building is 11 feet 8 inches in length by 9 feet 6 inches in breadth, and of which the doorway on the outer side is only 3 feet 8 inches in width. There is another cloistered building to the south-east from the Masjid. It was, no doubt, intended to form a cloistered court round the eastern, northern and southern sides of the *farsh* in front of the Masjid. The buildings last mentioned are, however, quite modern additions to the Masjid.

Then standing by itself, to the south-east of the Masjid, and distant 11 feet 8 inches from the south-eastern corner of the Masjid, there is a circular, or rather octagonal-domed mausoleum, which contains the tomb of Shah Vilayat himself. This mausoleum is 74 feet 8 inches in circumference, and 22 feet 1 inch in diameter. The dome of this mausoleum is supported on eight square red sandstone pillars, 1 foot 7 inches square, thus leaving an interior circular chamber 8 feet 11 inches in diameter. This mausoleum is built exteriorly of red sandstone. It contains a single tombstone of red sandstone, which covers the remains of Shah Vilayat. This mausoleum was probably built after the restoration of Humayūn.

A ground plan of the Masjid and mausoleum accompanies this report.

This interesting and mysterious Masjid is unfortunately going to ruin. The interior side of the western wall of the Masjid is year by year crumbling down, and I much fear that if there is another year of such heavy and continued rains as we have had this year, the supports of the roof and domes of the Masjid will be weakened, and that then the roof will *fall in*. This would be a great pity; and as it would not cost much to repair the whole of it (probably not more than about Rs. 200 at most), I would beg to suggest that the Government might perhaps authorize the local authorities to lend their assistance in repairing this Masjid, which might be done partly from the surplus funds derived from the rents of the shop-stalls connected with the other larger Masjids in Agra.

Masjid Mokhannisan.

In that part of the west of Agra called Loha-ki-mandi, at one side of the street leading to the Bhartpur road, and near the *Changa-modi Gate*, there is a beautiful three-domed mosque built of red sandstone and called the *Masjid Mokhannisan* (which means a Masjid built for eunuchs). I consider this to be the most beautiful little Masjid in Agra.

It is very tastefully, neatly and prettily built of pale red sandstone, and the domes are of solid stone. High up in the back, or west wall of the Masjid, there are two large windows, filled with beautiful perforated stone lattice work, which give a handsome, *recherché*, and light appearance to the back of the Masjid. This Masjid is rather less in size than the *Akbari Masjid*, but about the same size as the Masjid of Motamed Khan. It would be well worthy of being photographed as a specimen of the best style of this kind of architecture.

This Masjid was originally built for the use of eunuchs, and is still principally frequented by them, many of whom live in the neighbourhood.

There is an interesting tradition connected with the building of the *Masjid Mokhannisan*. It is said that there was a eunuch named *Yatima* who was a very righteous man and who lived in the time of Akbar. It so happened during those times that no rain fell from heaven on account of the sins of the people, and consequently all the people were in great straits and could not get any provisions whatever

anywhere. At last Akbar sent for saints and righteous persons to pray to God that He might send rain from heaven. But their prayers were not answered. At last some persons informed the king that unless he would take advice from *Yatima*, the eunuch, as to what should be done in such an emergency, nothing could be done. Accordingly Akbar sent for Yatima, and told him to pray to God for the good of his people. The eunuch prayed to God, and the rain descended, and everything was fresh and in plenty. Then the king wanted the eunuch to ask whatever he desired as a reward. But Yatima refused to take anything. At last, when the king insisted that he should ask something, then the eunuch said it would be better for the king if he would build something by which both the king's and his name should be perpetuated. Consequently the king built this mosque in commemoration of that great event.

The dimensions of this Masjid are 51 feet in length by 19 feet 9 inches in breadth, *minus* the outer projections of the corner towers and the outer projection of the "*taj*" behind the kibla apse. The "*taj*" projection at the back or west side of the Masjid is 11 feet 3 inches in length and projects 1 foot outwardly. There is an octagonal tower at each front corner of the Masjid, showing five and a half sides exteriorly at the base, and each of the sides of these octagons measuring 2 feet 7 inches. The central archway of the front of the mosque is 9 feet 11 inches in width, and the central chamber or compartment to which it enters is 13 feet 10 inches square, with a pentagonal-backed arched kibla apse, or recess, in the centre of the inner side of the west wall, 4 feet 4 inches in breadth. The "*mimbar*" or pulpit is in the north-western corner of this central chamber. The dome over this central chamber is the largest and the highest. The two interior side archways between the central chamber and side chambers are each 10 feet in width. The two exterior lateral front arches (one on each side of the central front arch) are each 7 feet 11 inches in width. The northern and southern side or end chambers are each 12 feet 7 inches square; each with a square-backed recess in the centre of the back wall, 4 feet in width. In the back or western wall of the Masjid, at a height of about 5 feet 6 inches from the floor interiorly (but at a much greater height from the ground outside) there are two large windows, or openings for light, filled with beautiful perforated stone lattice-work,

one over each of the last named back recesses of the side chambers. In the centre of each end of the Masjid there is a doorway, 4 feet in width.

The Masjid stands on the western end of a raised platform of masonry 83 feet 2 inches from east to west by 95 feet from north to south. There is a low flat-roofed entrance way in the centre of the eastern side of the raised platform 11 feet 6 inches in width, and 10 feet 10 inches in depth, from the centre of the inner end of which a narrow doorway, 3 feet 6 inches in width, leads to a flight of steps which ascend for the distance of 10 feet 9 inches until they reach the upper level of the platform.

In the centre of the platform, 11 feet 8 inches distant from and in front of the Masjid, there is a *hauz*, or tank, 19 feet 4 inches square. At the centre of the south side of the platform there is a building 15 feet 3 inches in length by 11 feet in breadth. At each of the four corners of the platform there is an octagonal tower about 10 feet 6 inches to 11 feet in diameter.

A ground plan of this Masjid will accompany this report.

THE "MEHTAB KHAN-KA-BAGH."—SITE OF THE INTENDED MAUSOLEUM OF SHAH JAHÂN.

The "*Mehtab Khan-ka-Bagh*" was shortly noticed by me *before* in my description of the neighbouring *Chahar Bagh*," the site of Babar's garden-palace, and the Masjid of Humayûn in the village of Kachpura, which is close by.

This garden enclosure, now a mere waste piece of ground, though it *now* bears the name of *Mehtab Khan*, is, without doubt, the site on which Shah Jahân intended to have built a mausoleum for himself, to correspond to that of his queen, namely, the Taj Mahal opposite. It is situated on the other side of the river, *exactly opposite* to the Taj. The walls of this enclosure are now razed to the ground, with the exception of a few small fragments; but two octagonal front corner towers on the bank of the river still remain,—one of them in a very perfect condition (surmounted by a cupola), and the other in a very ruined and dilapidated condition. The perfect tower is the one at the south-eastern corner of this enclosure, facing the north-eastern corner tower of the enclosing wall which surrounds the Taj. These towers are built of red sandstone. The originally walled enclosure,

now known by the name of the *Mehtab Khan-ka-Bagh*, is 960 feet in length back from the river, by 967 feet in breadth parallel to the river. At the centre of the river front there is a ghât or quay of masonry 80 feet in length by 39 feet in breadth, with steps on each side leading down to it, and a second pair of flights of steps again descend from the front of the ghât to the river. To the rear of and above this ghât (on the raised platform of ground above) there is the site of a building 66 feet in length by 30 feet in breadth. The site of this building overrides, or is superimposed upon, the centre of the front side of the site of a huge, circular, or rather broad oval, building, or range of building, 250 feet in diameter from east to west, and about 217 feet 6 inches in diameter from north to south; the actual site of the circular or oval range of building occupying a space of 25 feet in breadth all round the oval, thus leaving an empty space *within* the oval of 200 feet from east to west, by 167 feet 6 inches from north to south. But the interior diameter, from north to south, is lessened, or cut into, by 2 feet 6 inches, inner projection, of the site of the square building before mentioned, which stands on the front or south side of the oval, and also by the site of another building, in a similar position, on the inner or north side of the oval. The site of the building on the northern side of the oval measured 60 feet from north to south, by 50 feet from east to west, and, as it is *even with* the outer edge of the oval on its northern side, it thus projects 25 feet within the oval, or into the central space within the ring of the site of the oval range of building, which (as I said before) is 25 feet in breadth. Now, I believe this oval ring, or site of an oval range of building, 25 feet in breadth, represents the actual site, or first beginnings of the foundation, of the mausoleum which Shah Jahan intended to build for himself, but which was put a stop to by his forced abdication, and the premature accession of Aurangzib. If then we may judge, by this great oval site or foundation, of what kind of building was probably intended to be raised on it as a mausoleum for Shah Jahan, we may imagine its *plan* to have been that of a great oval cloistered building, covering and enclosing an area of 250 feet by 217 feet, and containing a *smaller* building in the *centre* probably in the form of a handsome lofty pillared building several storeys in height, and surmounted by a stone cupola or canopy-shaped

roof supported on columns, and in the centre of this last, under cover, would have been the *actual tomb* of Shah Jahan.

Now, a design of this kind would be altogether *un*-Indian, or not the least like anything that was ever built in India, but the idea has many *Italian* characteristics about it, and it was no doubt altogether the design and conception of an *Italian*. Such a design indeed would have had something *Roman*, something *Lydian*, and something *Etruscan* about it. It would have been like a Colosseum, with a Lydian tomb in the centre and with a grand gateway, in keeping, on the northern side of the great oval (furthest from the river), and a grand *pavilion* on the *southern* side of the great oval (facing the river).

I have made a conjectural and ideal drawing of what I should conceive the form and design of the separate mausoleum of Shah Jahan must have been intended to be, judging by the ground-plan of it, which may still be traced on the ground.

Three hundred and thirty feet, in a straight central line, to the rear or north of the great *oval* there is a site of a square building which measured 62 feet from east to west, by 50 feet from north to south. Then, at the distance of 350 feet, in a direct line north or to the rear of the site last above mentioned, the site of the great entrance gateway of the walled enclosure which formerly surrounded the whole commences, which entrance gateway was in the centre of the northern side of the great walled enclosure. What remained of the traces of the site, or foundations, of the gateway measured 67 feet in width from east to west, and 30 feet in depth from north to south. There are also the traces of two other corner towers, one at each end corner of the northern side of the great enclosure, or, in other words, at the north-eastern and north-western corners of the enclosure; in the centre of the site of the north-eastern tower there is a well.

Next, to come to the *sides* of the enclosure. Near the *centre* of each *side* of the great enclosure, that is, on the eastern and western sides, at 536 feet from the southern end, and 330 feet from the northern end of the enclosure, there is the site of a building. Each of the sites of these two side buildings measured the *same*, namely 100 feet from north to south, by 61 feet from east to west. The *western* one of these two side buildings was no doubt a Masjid. Thus

these two side buildings were, no doubt, originally intended to correspond to the two *side* buildings of the Taj enclosure over the river opposite, one of which is a mosque.

Outside the enclosure, at a distance of 12 feet from the western side of it, a little to the north-west of the south-western front corner-tower, and a short distance from the river bank, there is a *hauz*, or tank raised on a platform of masonry, and beyond it, in a line, there is a range of no less than *nine* wells, with an equal number of small cisterns behind them, all united together by a raised platform of masonry, to which a flight of steps ascends at the north-western corner of the range. This great range of wells was connected with the Mehtab Khan-ka-Bagh, and there are the remains of a small gate in the wall of it, just opposite the wells, and also the remains of a flight of steps running up the wall in the direction of the wells.

The Red Stone Horse on the Sikandra Road.

On the left hand, or south side of the Sikandra Road, nearly four miles from Agra, and about a mile and a quarter from Sikandra, and nearly opposite the great and lofty arched gateway of an ancient serai called the "*Kachi-ki-Serai*," there is the statue of a horse sculptured in red sandstone. This stone horse formerly stood on a pedestal of its own, on which there was an inscription; but the horse has now lost the lower part of its legs, its original pedestal and the inscription are gone, and it now stands on a raised platform of masonry on the left hand side of the road looking towards Sikandra.

The dimensions of this stone horse are as follows: straight measurement from the nostrils to the tail, 7 *feet* 1 *inch;* measurement from the nostrils, over the head, along the curve of the neck and back to the tail, 8 *feet* 10 *inches;* from the shoulders to above the knees (where the legs are broken off), 2 *feet* 4 *inches;* from the crup to the hocks, 2 *feet* 5½ *inches*—(a *living* horse which I measured gave a measurement of 3 *feet* in the same part as that last mentioned)—girth 6 *feet* 5 *inches.*

I have not been able to discover who caused this stone horse to be erected, nor the date of its erection; but I have reason to believe that it must have been a work of Sikandar Lodi's.

There is, however, the following tradition preserved concerning this horse. It is said that some Badshah, arriving from foreign parts, encamped there, and that he had a very favourite horse which died on the spot where the statue is: and that, on account of his sorrow at losing his favourite horse, he erected a statue to its memory on the spot where the horse died and was buried.

It is said that by the same accident by which the horse was killed, the groom or *sais*, who was with it, was also killed, and that the *sais* was buried with the horse. At any rate, there is now a Muhammadan tombstone immediately in front of the horse.

The Guru-ka-Tal near Sikandra.

To the right hand or north side of the Sikandra Road, about four and a half miles from Agra, there is an enormous ornamental stone tank, or artificial lake as it might almost be called, the sides of which are built of red sandstone, with ornamental octagonal towers, surmounted by cupolas projecting into it. By measurement I found this great tank to be 542 feet from north to south, and 548 feet from east to west. On the *south* side there are three broad flights of steps (each flight being 15 feet 6 inches in breadth) leading down into the tank, with four octagonal towers (each 13 feet in diameter) projecting from four piers into the tank; and to the right, or east of these steps, there is a long and broad channel, or canal, of masonry, of grand dimensions, for the admission of water into the tank, and which formerly had evidently sluice gates; and there is a bridge passing over this canal, about half-way between the tank and the Sikandra Road. The admission of water, however, into the tank, by this canal, has been stopped by the *new* Sikandra Road made by the British authorities, which passes near the south end of the tank, the *old* Sikandra Road having passed at a considerable distance from the tank towards the north. There are also four other separate stairs on the south side passing down from the *wall* into the tank. On the *east* side there are two projections, with flights of steps which run into the tank, the first of which is 61 feet in breadth by 35 feet in length, and terminates in two towers 13 feet in diameter; the second is a mere broad stair 42 feet in breadth, but has *no* towers. On this side of the tank

there are also eleven separate stairs leading down from the *wall* of the tank. At the centre of the *north* side of the tank there is a projection into the tank 75 feet 4 inches in breadth, and projecting 17 feet 7 inches into the tank, consisting of a broad flight of steps between two piers, which terminate in octagonal towers 13 feet in diameter. On each side of this again there are two separate and independent piers (one on each side), projecting 8 feet 6 inches into the tank, and each terminating in octagonal towers 13 feet in diameter. On this side of the tank there are also five separate stairs leading down from the *wall*. About the centre of the *west* side of the tank, two piers 13 feet 2 inches in length and 5 feet 3 inches in breadth, project into the tank, terminated by octagonal towers 13 feet in diameter. On this side of the tank there are also sixteen separate stairs leading down from the *wall* of the tank.

I have reason to believe that this great tank or artificial lake was constructed by Sikandar Lodi, notwithstanding that it is *now* called " *Guru-ka-Tal*."

It would be a great boon to the farmers who cultivate the land in the neighbourhood of this tank if the Government would assist them in clearing it out to its original depth, and in again opening up the old channels, by which the drainage water of the surrounding country may again enter it and fill it during the rains. I was sorry to hear that some road officers belonging to the Public Works Department had taken some of the stones from the walls of this tank in order to repair the Sikandra road.

Supposed Mausoleum of Sikandar Lodi.

Near and to the east side of the great tank above described, there is a very fine large mausoleum built of red sandstone, and surmounted by five stone domes, of which the largest is in the centre, and the others at each corner, of the roof. The mausoleum stands on a great elevated platform, or chabutra, of masonry, with steps leading up to it. This mausoleum is square, measuring 35 feet 8 inches each side. The platform of masonry or chabutra on which it stands measured 109 feet 3 inches each side.

I have been unable to discover either who built this mausoleum or who was interred in it; but as I have been unable to find any account of where Sikandar Lodi was

interred, I should not wonder if this should turn out to have been the mausoleum of Sikandar Lodi, more particularly as it is within a comparatively short distance of the *Bara-dari*, which was the palace of Sikandar Lodi, and which is situated on the other side of the road, somewhat nearer the present village of Sikandra.

Bhuri Khan's Masjid at Sikandra.

A short distance to the left hand side of the main street or road which runs through Sikandra, there is an old mosque called "*Bhuri Khan's Masjid,*" built partly of brick and mortar, and partly of red sandstone. It has one dome. It is 34 feet 3 inches in length by 20 feet 9 inches in breadth. There is an octagonal tower at each front corner.

A short distance to the south-east of the front of the Masjid, there once stood Bhuri Khan's palace, of which only the gateway and a portion of the front now remain.

Small painted Masjid on the Gwalior Road.

On the left or east side of the Gwalior road, about two miles from Agra, there is a small mosque, which was originally tastefully painted exteriorly. It is built of brick and plaster, but it has been beautifully ornamented exteriorly with paintings of flowers and other devices, which are now very much faded and defaced. It has three domes. Its dimensions are 41 feet in length by 18 feet in breadth, with a *farsh*, or raised platform in front, 27 feet in breadth.

Firoz Khan's Mausoleum; the "Pahlwan's Tomb," and "Takht-i Pahlwan," or the Pahlwan's Throne.

When one reaches the third milestone from Agra on the Gwalior road, one sees on either hand, a short distance to the right and left of the road, two conspicuous domed buildings. One of these which is called the "*Pahlwan's Tomb,*" is situated at the distance of about the eighth of a mile to the *left* or *east* side of the Gwalior road; and the other, called "*Firoz Khan's Roza,*" is situated at the distance of about a quarter of a mile to the *right* or *west* side of the road. I have not yet had leisure to make measurements or plans of either of these two buildings, but I have made a minute

examination of them. I will first describe the *Pahlwan's Mausoleum*.

I. "ROZA-WA-TAKHTI PAHLWAN."

The *Pahlwan's Mausoleum* is built of red sandstone. It stands on a high raised chabutra, which is built or supported on arches. At each of the four corners of the chabutra or platform, there is a beautiful four-pillared lantern of red sandstone, or, in other words, a small but high-shaped dome or cupola with an octagonal base, standing on a square platform which surrounds it, from which latter wide eaves of slabs of red sandstone project outwards. The cupola is supported on four slender pillars with beautiful engrailed Saracenic arches between them. The mausoleum, which stands on the centre of the chabutra, is raised on a basement, round the upper edge of which there runs an ornamental border of shield-shaped beading, or small crenelations reversed, standing out in relief from the stone. The mausoleum is square-shaped and surmounted by a dome resting on an octagonal base, which stands on a square platform which surrounds the dome. At each of the four corners of the roof of the building, or the platform which surrounds the dome, there is a beautiful little four-pillared lantern or cupola supported on four pillars, similar to those at each of the four corners of the chabutra. Below this, wide eaves of slabs of red sandstone project from the upper part of the square sides of the building. In each of the four sides of the mausoleum there is a capacious doorway consisting of a broad pointed arch. On each side of each doorway there are two smaller engrailed Saracenic arches, one above the other, that is, four on each side of the building.

About one hundred yards to the *west* of the mausoleum there is an enormous slab of stone lying flat on, or partly sunk into, the ground, which is called the *Takht-i-Pahlwan*, or the Pahlwan's throne. This great stone is 8 feet square, and it is in some parts about 8 inches in thickness above the ground. But, as it is probably somewhat sunk into the ground, the actual thickness of the stone would probably be about 1 foot.

I have been unable to ascertain *who* this Pahlwan was, but he is said to have been the head or chief Pahlwan in the time of Shah Jahan. Judging by the style of the architecture

of the mausoleum, I should certainly say that it must have been built in the time of Shah Jahan.*

There is a small village surrounding the mausoleum, which commonly goes by the name of *Takht Pahlwan*.

II. Roza-wa Talab, Firoz Khan.

This mausoleum is nearly equal in its longitudinal dimensions to the Chini-ka-Roza, but it exceeds the latter in height. It is built of red sandstone. The whole of the walls are covered with rich and elaborate carving, and the main building, with its adjuncts, is besides beautifully ornamented in certain parts (such as round the base of the great dome, and round the bases of the lesser domes of the side cupolas, and the roofs of the latter) with glazed coloured tiles and enamelling, displaying beautiful patterns in bright and exquisite colours.

This mausoleum, with its adjuncts, is, in short, the most beautiful building in the neighbourhood of Agra, and certainly the most beautiful mausoleum, next to the *Chini-ka-Roza*, the *Taj*, and Itimâd-ud-Daulah. It is a building well worth going to see. *A coloured photograph* of this building should certainly be obtained for the Archæological Survey.

The mausoleum itself is octagonal in shape, and stands on a very loftily raised octagonal platform or chabutra; but which indeed may rather be considered as a part of the building, or a first or lower storey of the building, rather than a mere chabutra. Underneath the latter there is a spacious crypt or vault, with an internally domed stone roof, and in which there are the remains of the bases of two tombs which are said to have been of white marble, but which the inhabitants of the surrounding village say were taken away by the Mahrattas. This great crypt or vault is tenanted by hundreds, nay, perhaps thousands, of *bats*, which, on my entering the vault, flew out of every crevice by scores, and very soon filled the whole vault, until the sound of their innumerable wings created a rumbling noise almost like thunder; and I had to keep an umbrella over my head, in

* In corroboration of the correctness of my guess as to the *date* of the *mausoleum*, I may state that Seal Chand, in his "*Tafrih-ul-Imarat*," contents himself with simply stating that the *Pahlwan* lived in the time of Shah Jahan, but he does *not* say when the *mausoleum* was built.

order to shelter myself from the dust and dirt which they created or let fall. On the east side of the great raised platform there is a fine and lofty gateway which rises higher than the platform, but the *doorway* entrance *through* which is, however, nevertheless, rather low and flat-topped. The whole face of this gateway is covered with the most beautiful and elaborate carvings in relief of the flowered scroll, niche-shaped, and other devices; but on the north side of the mausoleum there are also figures of *peacocks* sculptured in relief. I may remark that all this carving, and indeed that of the whole building, is *entirely Hindu* in character, such as one finds on buildings of Akbar and Jahangir. Through the gateway steps ascend up from the ground below to the level of the great raised platform above. On the summit of the gateway there are two square-sided domed lanterns supported on four pillars. The outer curved surface of these two small domes or cupolas was originally enamelled in colours, which have now almost disappeared; and there is also a band of glazed coloured tiles, the external surface of which displayed variegated colours round the bases of the cupolas, but most of the coloured glazing has shaled or fallen off. Three other sides of this great raised platform are each surmounted by a long-shaped, canopy-roofed pavilionette, the canopy roof resting on four and four, or eight slender pillars. The curved canopy-shaped roofs of these pavilionettes have been covered with enamelling in bright, varied, and exquisite colours. Round the sides at the bases of the canopy-shaped roofs of these pavilionettes there are two bands, one broad and one narrow, of glazed coloured tiles, displaying variegated patterns in bright colours. Much of the coloured glazing has fallen off, leaving the tiles bare, and thus showing the nature of the substance of which the tiles are composed. Now, these tiles are of the *coctile* kind, or which have been *baked red* like bricks or common red "roofing tiles;" and their substance is *not* crystallized; and in this they *differ* from the blue glazed tiles which form a band along the front of the Id Gah of Ala-ud-din Khilji at Repari, of which the *substance* is *white* and *coarsely crystallized*. I would therefore name the glazed tiles on Firoz Khan's mausoleum "*coctile glazed coloured tiles*," while I would name those on the Id Gah of Ala-ud-din Khilji at Repari "*caustic glazed coloured tiles*." (The *latter* term must, however, *not* be confounded

with *encaustic*, which is quite a *different* thing, and is about synonymous with *enamelling*, but which might probably be appropriately applied to the generally enamelled exterior of the *Chini-ka-Roza*.)

Round the base of the dome of the mausoleum itself there are also two bands, one narrow and the other wider, of glazed coloured tiles, of which the patterns of varied colours *have been* very beautiful, but now a great portion of the *glazing* has fallen off, leaving many of the tiles *bare*. The *dome* is surrounded by a narrow octagonal terrace or platform extending beyond it, from which, on the alternate four of the eight sides, there rise four slender shafts or *gul-distas*, capped with flower-shaped capitals. Thus, this dome with these four graceful shafts standing around it looks something like the Dagoba of *Lanka Rama* in Ceylon, with pillars standing round it. This affords another instance in favour of my theory (previously expressed in my description of the Moti Masjid) that the idea of these domes was originally derived from the modified form of the Buddhist Dagoba.

From just below the parapet of the platform which surrounds the dome there is a broad open projecting balcony, formed of horizontal slabs of red sandstone, and which is supported on numerous, beautiful, richly and elaborately carved stone brackets, the character of the sculpturing of these brackets being *entirely Hindu*.

The walls of the mausoleum are exteriorly covered, from top to bottom, with rich and elaborate sculptures in bas-relief. In short, the whole style of this mausoleum would lead one to infer that it must be of an early date, when the Muhammadan style of ornamentation had not yet been thoroughly introduced, when Hindu architects and sculptors were still freely employed, and when the elaborate sculptures of a Hindu temple might still, without prejudice, be applied to ornament the exterior of a Muhammadan mausoleum.

Close to this mausoleum, to the east, there are the remains of an enormous *pukka tank* built of masonry. The side retaining walls are of solid masonry, and there were originally several broad flights of steps leading down to the tank, with towers at the corners; so that probably the "*Firoz Khan-ka-Talab*" originally nearly equalled the "*Guru-ka-Tal*" in size and ornamental work. I was, however, *grieved* to hear that the destruction of a great portion of the walls of this

grand tank was mainly caused by the British authorities, as the bricks had been taken away by them to build barracks within the military cantonments of Agra. Unfortunately the *Dehra* (vulgo—*Dehra Bagh*) *Jodh Bai's mausoleum* and the *Firoz Khan-ka-Talab* were all in too convenient proximity to the cantonments, and consequently all were more or less demolished for the sake of the *bricks* they so readily afforded!

The mausoleum of Firoz Khan, with its adjuncts, was originally surrounded by a great walled enclosure with grand gateways at each of the four sides, and towers at each of the four corners, and containing innumerable wells and a fine garden. Judging by the result of enquiries, made of natives living on the spot, as to the original position of the walls of the enclosure, I should say that this great walled enclosure must have contained an area of about an eighth of a mile square.*

The mausoleum itself is now inhabited by natives, and it is closely surrounded and encroached on all sides by the houses of a village of considerable size, which commonly goes by the name of "*Firoz Khan-ka-Tal.*" The poor natives complain sadly of the destruction of the tank and the drying up of its waters, owing to the inlets for the water having been closed up; and also of the drying up and falling in of the fine old wells, numbers of which, in a very dilapidated condition, may still be seen round about. With regard to the drying up of the tank, no doubt the formation of the Government Gwalior road, about a quarter of a mile to the east of it, may have had something to do with it.

Now, for the *history* of the mausoleum of *Firoz Khan*. I can find no account of it, except in a short and unsatisfactory notice in Seal Chand's *Tafrih-ul-Imarat*. Seal Chand says that the mausoleum was built by or for Firoz Khan, who was the chief of the eunuchs in the court of Shah Jahan. The actual words he uses are as follows:

• باني اين باغ فيروز خان خواجه سراي شاه جهانى است •

"The constructor of this garden was Firoz Khan, a eunuch of Shah Jahan." The inhabitants of the village which

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* Seal Chand, in his *Tafrih-ul-Imarat*, mentions the *Firoz Khan-ka-Talab*, by itself, in one part of his book, and the notice which he gives of it occupies only about one and a half lines; and then he mentions the *Firoz Khan-ka-Roza* and *garden* in quite *another* part of his book. But he says that the *Firoz Khan-ka-Talab*, or tank, occupies an area of 510 bighas and 10 biswas, while he says that the whole garden enclosure (which surrounds both the mausoleum and tank) occupied an area of only 6 bighas! Surely Seal Chand must have been out of his senses when he wrote this!

surrounds it, however, say that it was built in the time of Akbar, and that Firoz Khan was a great man in Akbar's court. Moreover, they say that the town of Firozabad, in the district of Agra, was either founded by, or named after, this very *same* Firoz Khan, over whose remains the grand mausoleum near the Gwalior road was built. This Firoz Khan must, therefore, at any rate, have been a great man in his time; and, judging by the style and characteristics of the architecture of the mausoleum, I should certainly say that it must have been built either in the time of Akbar or at least not later than the time of Jahangir.

MAUSOLEUMS OF SADI KHAN AND SALABAT KHAN, ALIAS SALIM KHAN.

On the right, or north side of the Sikandra road, not far from the Ladli Bagh, there are two remarkable mausoleums standing close together in the middle of the fields, and named respectively after Sadi Khan and Salabat Khan *alias* Salim Khan (*alias* Islam Khan). One of these mausoleums is a large and lofty octagonal building surmounted by a noble dome, and the other is a large, square, flat-topped building, of which the roof is supported on double ranges of pillars, about 46 or 48 in number, as far as I can remember. This latter building is built of red sandstone. It stands on a large square raised platform or chabutra of masonry, and at each of the four corners of the platform there is a beautiful domed pillared lantern, or a massive cupola supported on slender pillars. The interiors of the ceilings of these cupolas are ornamented with exquisite paintings of flowers in bright colours, on a very fine and beautiful kind of stucco, which presents a polished surface. Some of these paintings are as fresh as if they had only been done a short time ago. This *latter pillared* building, with the beautiful cupolas supported on pillars at each corner of its platform, would be well worth obtaining a good photograph of. It is the only thing of its kind about Agra.

BEAUTIFUL MAUSOLEUMS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF THE TAJ.

Outside of the Taj enclosure, towards the eastern and western sides of it, there are four beautiful octagonal-shaped mausoleums, two on the eastern side and two on the western side, each being at a short distance off from the Taj road on either side, but the south-western one alone being within the wall of the back of the great Serai enclosure which is

in front of the Taj gateway. The general plan of these mausoleums may be described as an octagonal basement, from which rise eight slender pillars, which support a dome or cupola, which is surrounded by a narrow octagonal platform, from which broad slanting eaves, formed of thin slabs of red sandstone, project. The mausoleum outside the eastern wall of the Taj enclosure is situated on a high ground which overhangs a road which leads down to the river, and on which high ground there is also a small Masjid in a very ruinous state facing the mausoleum. This mausoleum is remarkable from the fact that the narrow octagonal platform of the roof which surrounds or encircles the dome is surmounted by eight thick octagonal-shaped but roughly hewn stone posts, rather than pillars, which are actually thicker than the pillars below which support the dome. The purpose for which these somewhat clumsy-looking stone posts, or pillars without tops, which surround the dome of this mausoleum were intended, is beyond my power to conceive, for they could not have supported anything; for anything that they supported must have proceeded from the sides of the upper part of the dome, and would therefore have hidden a great portion of the dome from view. This mausoleum contains a beautiful white marble sarcophagus, which was originally most richly and elaborately ornamented with beautiful mosaics, inlaid in sockets very deeply cut into the marble; but every one of the stones of these mosaics has been picked out by some persons unknown, so that now there is not a single one left. The marble sarcophagi in two of the other octagonal mausoleums (which were also richly inlaid with mosaics) have met with nearly the same amount of ruthless and mischievous treatment. Such cases of wanton destruction are a crying shame, and should, I would suggest, be enquired into by Government, if it be desired to preserve such relics. These buildings are well worthy of being photographed.

Old Palaces in the neighbourhood of the Taj.

Immediately beyond the Taj, to the east, there are the remains of three different palaces of Nawabs, or nobles, of the time of the Mughal emperors; one of them of the time of Shah Jahan, another said to be of the time of Jahangir, and another of the time of Akbar. Of one of

these palaces, namely, the one nearest to the east side of the Taj enclosure, there is still a long range of ruined walls remaining, on the very edge of the river bank. I have been unable to ascertain with any dependable certainty by whom these palaces were built, as the native traditions concerning them are somewhat conflicting.

The "Changa Modi Gate" of the City of Agra.

(This gateway should properly have been mentioned after my measurements and description of the old *city wall* of Agra.)

The "*Changa Modi Gate*" is the *only other gate* of the city *still standing, besides* the "*Delhi Gate;*" but it is in a much more perfect condition than the latter. It is often called the "*Changa Modi Púl,*" or *Bridge*, because a few yards distant, outside of the gate, there was also a bridge over a nulla which formerly went by the same name.

This gateway is situated on the *west* side of Agra, at the back of the *Loha-ki-mandi*, and a short distance from the Masjid *Mokhannisan*. The gateway *itself faces north* and *south*, owing to the city *wall turning off* from the west, *eastwards*, in that locality.

This is a handsome gateway, although it is mostly built of brick and plaster, the *archways* alone being built of *red sandstone*. There are two semi-circular towers, which run up the outer side of the gateway, towards the end of each wing, and these towers are surmounted by cupolas or domes, which rise above the top of the building, and give the gateway a finished and ornamental appearance.

The length of the whole building of the gateway is 58 feet 4 inches, and the depth of it through is 12 feet 4 inches. The outer archway is 16 feet 8 inches in width. It then contracts to 16 feet 2 inches, and next to 11 feet 4 inches, owing to projections interiorly. This leads into a central chamber or vestibule, 13 feet 6 inches in length by 6 feet 10 inches in breadth, from which one passes out through the inner archway, which is at first 11 feet 4 inches in width, but widens out exteriorly on the inner side of the gateway to 12 feet. There are two very small doorways on the inner side of the gateway, one in the centre of each wing, which lead into two small side chambers, the dimensions of which are only 5 feet by 4 feet.

The *name* of this gate, "*Changa Modi,*" has a curious origin ascribed to it. It is said that in old times a "*Modi,*" or *purveyor*, who had *six fingers* on one of his hands, had his shop just inside this gateway, and that from his being well known, and being constantly in attendance at that spot, the gateway at length came to be known by his name, and was therefore called after him the "*Che-anga-modi Darwaza,*" that is, "the *gateway of the six-fingered modi,*" which is much the same as if we would say in English—"*six-fingered Jack's Gate.*"

THE MUBÂRIK MANZAL.

The *Mubarik Manzal* is now used as the Custom House or the Head Office of the Salt Department in Agra. It is situated at the end of the Bailanganj Road, close to the Ghât Road which runs along the bank of the river.

It was built by Aurangzib Alamgir on the spot on which he rested in Agra on his return from the great battle in which he defeated his brother Dâra Shikoh, and which battle took place somewhere between Samonghar and Fatehabad, or rather probably commenced near Samonghar and terminated near Fatehabad, in consequence of which it is called by some the battle of Samonghar, and by others the battle of Fatehabad. At any rate Fatehabad was originally a large Hindu village, *then* known under quite a *different name,* but which was *re-named* "*Fatehabad*" by Aurangzib in commemoration of his victory.

The *Mubarik Manzal* is a large rectangular building of an oblong shape, 171 feet in length by 84 feet in breadth, exclusive of the projections of the towers at the corners. It has a fine octagonal tower at each corner, each of which is surmounted by a pillared cupola which rises above the roof of the building. The building is three-storeyed, for which reason it is called a '*Manzal.*" There is a beautiful colonnade or pillared verandah on the east side of the building (ground floor) composed of fluted pillars, with engrailed arches rising from and between them. The west wall has fifteen openings through it. The south end has at present three doorways in it. On the level of the *second* storey, exteriorly, a covered-in corridor or verandah, with plain arches opening outwards, now runs along its sides; but it is probable that this was not the case at first, but that each of the upper storeys was less than, or retreated inwards from, the lower one, with only the platform

of the roof, thus left bare at the sides by the recession of each upper storey surrounding it, but having then *no* covered-in upper verandah. The *third* or uppermost storey is small, and of an irregular shape.

Within the building, towards the middle of its inner western side, there is a compartment of the building which is said originally to have been used as a *Masjid*.

A ground plan of this building will accompany this report; but it is right that I should here state that the building has been very much altered in order to turn it into a Custom House.

Tomb of Shah-ab-ul-Allah.

Shah-ab-ul-Allah was a Muhammadan saint or faqir who lived in the time of Jahângir, and died in the time of Shah Jahan. It is related of him, during his lifetime, that, on one occasion, he happened to go into the presence of the king (Jahângir), and that the king ordered him to drink some wine; but Shah-ab-ul-Allah firmly refused to drink any. Jahângir then said—"Do *you* not fear the power of the *king?*"—to which Shah-ab-ul-Allah replied—"Do *you* not fear the power of *God?*" and immediately, thereupon, *two lions came out of the faqir's sleeves,* which terrified the king and convinced him of the supernatural powers of Shah-ab-ul-Allah!

The *tomb* of Shah-ab-ul-Allah is one of the curiosities of Agra. It is situated in Wazirpura, which is about one-third of a mile to the north beyond the proper boundaries of the city of Agra. It is now surrounded by a sort of cloistered court or *dalâns*, with a small Masjid on the west side of it; but all these additions are modern, and only the tomb itself is old.

The tomb is of marble, but has no covering over it, and is open to the air. It is surrounded merely by a stone railing, and stands on a raised platform or *chabutra*, 22 feet square. The tomb is not parallel to the sides of the *chabutra*, that is to say, the *tomb* is placed, longitudinally, *exactly north and south,* while the sides of the *chabutra* or platform point north-east and south-west one way, and south-east and north-west the other way.

The legend connected with this tomb is—that when Shah-ab-ul-Allah died and was buried, his friends placed his body, by mistake, not properly according to the approved points

of the compass, that is, not north and south, but north-east and south-west, and parallel to the sides of the platform or *chabutra*. After he was buried, and the tomb placed over the grave, his friends discovered that they had made a mistake in placing his body in a wrong direction, but they said among themselves—"Oh! well, as it is so, let it remain so, for the man is dead, and he will not know anything about it." But on the next day, when they came to visit the tomb again, they found, to their amazement, that the tomb had wheeled round, turning on its centre as an axis, so as to occupy a position due north and south; in short, it seemed that, during the night, the good man, dead though he was, had occupied his time in wheeling both his body and his grave, with tombstone at top, round into the most approved position, due north and south, like the needle of a magnetic compass; and the consequence was that the tomb from that time occupied the twisted position in which it may now be seen. The old gentleman must surely have been highly electric! At any rate, he (or somebody else) succeeded in thoroughly *electrifying* the credulous beings who had the burying of him.

At the north end of the tomb there is an erect marble headstone, on which there is a long inscription in the Persian character, terminating with the statement that the death and interment of Shah-ab-ul-Allah took place in the month of Safah, San Hijri 1061, or A. D. 1653; and therefore Shah-ab-ul-Allah must have died during the reign of Shah Jahan.

The Hamam of Allah Vardi Khan.

On the left hand side of the Chipi Tola Street, just before where it terminates on the western esplanade of the fort, there is a fine red sandstone arched doorway, 23 feet 3 inches in width, with an inscription on it, stating that the building to which it belongs was built in the time of Jahângir. This gateway leads into the great quadrangle of a large *Hamam*, or bath-house, called "*Hamam Allah Vardi Khan.*" The building is now occasionally used as a serai.

I can find no particular account as to *who* Allah Vardi Khan was. Seal Chand does not notice the place at all in his "*Tafrih-ul-Imarat;*" but Raja Ram, in his "*Tamirat Agrah,*" says that it was built by Allah Vardi Khan in the time of Shah Jahan.

The inscription is in verse. The following is a copy and translation of the inscription; but it is necessary that I should state that the first and last parts of the inscription are very much defaced :—

در ایام شهنشــاه جهانگیــــر که مي زیبد باو عالم پناهي
بشهــر آگرة دار الخـــلافت که باشد پاي تخت بادشاهي
بخیر الله وردي خان بنـــا کرد جبین پاکیزه حمامي که خواهي
صفایش روبرو با روي خورشید فضایش با فلک دربار گاهي
زموج آب و عکس قرص کلجام همیشه حوض اوپر ماة و ماهي
پی تاریخ بنیادش دلـم را بفصل فکر شستم از سیـاهي
١٠٣٠
گرفتـم دامن پاکان و گفتـم بناي خیر حمـام مبـاهي

Translation.

"In the time of the king of kings, JahÂngir, to whom "belongs the fitting title of 'the defender of the people' in "the capital city of Agrah, which may it be the metropolis "of the kingdom, in peace Allah Vardi Khan built this "clean Hamam, according to his desire. Its cleanness may "be compared to the purity of the sun. Its destruction "can only be effected by heaven. With its rippling waters "and cool shades, it forms a circle like a basin. The *hauz* "is ever full of light and fishes. The finding of the date "of its foundation for me will be perceived by a bath which "washes away anxiety from the heart, even as a stain is "washed away. I took hold of the skirts of pure persons, "and said that the building of this Hamam was due to "him—1030."

The dimensions of this *Hamam* are—*length* from east to west, 122 feet, *breadth* from north to south, 72 feet.

I had thought that I should have been able to give the complete measurements of this building, and to make a ground plan of it, but the door of the place is locked, and the *man* who owns, or has the charge of the place, refused to open the door.*

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* Such are the difficulties with which we Government servants of the Archæological Survey have to contend !

THE "ARAM BAGH" (*vulgarly called* "RAM BAGH"); *also called the* "BAGH NUR AFSHAN" (THE TEMPORARY RESTING PLACE OF THE BODY OF BABAR).

This beautiful garden on the left bank of the river Jamna above Agra, commonly known as the "*Ram Bagh*," is too well known to require any description from me. Its *original Hindu* name was "*Aram Bagh*," or "the Garden of Rest," which has been corrupted in *modern* times into "*Ram Bagh*," as if it meant the "Garden of *Rama!*" The *Muhammadan* name of this garden is "*Bagh Nur Afshan*," which signifies literally the "Garden of the Diffuser of Light." Nur Afshan was the name of a lady in the harem of one of the Mughal emperors. It is supposed by some that she was the same person as *Nur Jahan*, the queen of Jahângir.

Seal Chand, in his "*Tafrih-ul-Imarat*," mentions the garden, but does not say by *whom* it was constructed. Raja Ram, in his "*Tamirat Agrah*," calls it "*Bagh Nur Afshan*," but says that it was constructed by *Raja Jawahir Singh of Bhartpur!* This, however, is *impossible*, because it is pretty certain that this is one of the *oldest* garden enclosures about Agra; for there is a well known tradition current to the effect that when *Babar* died *his body* was first temporarily interred in the "*Aram Bagh*" before it was taken to its final resting place at Kabul. There is a small circular domed building or pavilion, about the centre of the western half of the garden, which may possibly mark the place where Babar's body was temporarily interred. There is a raised terrace at the end of the garden, next the river, on which there are two handsome old buildings, of red sandstone, standing. These buildings, no doubt, originally formed the wings of the garden palace of Nur Afshan; but they are now altered into European dwelling-houses for the use of European visitors who go there for change of air. The two corner towers of this garden enclosure, next the river, are very fine and lofty. They are octagonal, built of red sandstone, and surmounted by pillared cupolas. The exterior walls of these towers are beautifully ornamented with carving, the most remarkable device being the representations of long-shaped, slender-necked *surais* or water-bottles, and it is worthy of remark that the same device is found on the great tower in the *Buland Bagh*, and also adorns the *walls*, at the river face, of the enclosure of Jeswant Singh's Chatri.

Havaili Dara Shikoh.

This enclosure contained the garden palace of Dara Shikoh, who was intended to have been the successor of Shah Jahan. The site of this enclosure now goes by the name of the "*Jamna Bagh*;" but it is now almost entirely swept away and built over with houses. All that now remains of it is the fragment of a massive old wall of a bridge over a nulla, and an enclosed piece of ground belonging to the son of the late Joti Pershad, the great Native Banker of Agra. The site of the Havaili of Dara Shikoh or "Jamna Bagh," is situated on the right bank of the river immediately to the *north* of the fort.

Havaili Islam Khan Rumi.

This is a ruined red sandstone palace of vast dimensions, situated on the right-hand or south side of the Taj Road, about half-way between the fort and the taj.

Seal Chand, in his "*Tafrih-ul-Imarat*," says that "some persons say that Islam Khan Rumi lived during the "reign of Shah Jahan; but through his exertions and investi- "gations he is able to find that Husain Pasha of Bussorah "under the dominion of Rûm [Turkey] came to Hindustan, "and consequently incurred the displeasure of the Emperor "of Rûm" [*i. e.*, Sultan of Turkey.] "After this, Husain Pasha "entered the service of Jahângir, who gave him many presents "and conferred the title of Wazir Islam Khan upon him, "by which name his Havaili is called."

This building is now in a totally ruinous and dilapidated condition, only some of its towers and a portion of the empty shell of the walls being now standing. Nevertheless it is still decidedly the largest, loftiest, and noblest looking ruin about Agra, and well worthy of a visit.

Havaili Asif Khan.

The construction of this palace is by some attributed to Aziz Khan, who was a well known general in the time of Jahângir; but I believe with others that it was really built by *Asif Khan*, prime minister of Jahângir, the father of Mumtaz Mahal, and the son of *Ghias* Beg *alias* Khwaja Æeas, Itimad-ud-Daulah, or high treasurer to Akbar and Jahângir.

This building was standing in a perfectly entire and habitable condition, until the mutiny and insurrection of 1857, when it was *blown up* by the orders of the British authorities, who thought that it would afford a cover for any native force coming to attack the fort. There are now only a few scattered fragments remaining of the masses of solid masonry which were hurled into the air by the explosion; but I was informed by Dr. Playfair, Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals, Agra Circle, that a few years *before* the mutiny the building was in such an excellent state of preservation that he and a friend had actually lived for some time in this old palace of Asif Khan's.

NATIVE ANACHRONISMS IN HISTORY, AS EXEMPLIFIED BY SEAL CHAND'S ACCOUNT OF THE HAVAILI AEZAD BAKHSH.

It is seldom that natives take the trouble to give anything whatever of *historical data* in their flatulently fulsome dedicated books; indeed, it is a *rare* chance if they even tell one *where* a building is *situated*. But when they *do*, on extremely *rare* occasions, attempt to go into the *history* of any place, it would be just as well perhaps if they had left it alone, and never made any attempt of the kind. One may read through the *whole* of Seal Chand's and Raja Ram's books *without* being able to find out *where any* one single building they notice is situated; but as an instance to the historical *incorrectness* and *anachronisms* of these native would-be book-makers, I will now quote what Seal Chand says concerning the "*Havaili Aezad Bakhsh.*" He says:—"The Havaili Aezad Bakhsh is situated just "near the river bank.* It was in a ruinous state, and was "repaired by Mr. Reid, a merchant, and afterwards a "school was established in it for the teaching of Arabic "and Persian.

"This Havaili was built by Aezad Bakhsh, who was "a very learned man. He lived during the reigns of both "Akbar and Jahângir; the former conferred the title of "*Asaf Khan* upon him, and made him his treasurer; the "latter conferred the title of *Wazir* upon him. Aezad "Bakhsh was afterwards appointed as a tutor to the Shahzada "Muhammad Azam Shah.

* *Quære?* But *where!* The "*river bank*" of the Jumna extends from the Himalayas to Allahabad!

"Afterwards, when there was a war between Farukhsir "and Azam Shah, a Khoja of the court of Farukhsir took "possession of the Havaili, which was afterwards called by "by his name."

According to this account, therefore, Aezad Bakhsh *alias* Asaf Khan must have lived from the time of Akbar to the time of the Princes Azam and Farukhsir, the latter the great-grandson of Aurangzib, or from about the year 1600 A. D. to the year 1713 A. D., a period of 113 years, and this too without at all taking into account the *previous* years of his life, *before* he attained to manhood and before he was employed by Akbar, which, if added to the 113 years, would probably give him a lifetime of about 130 years' duration! Such absurdity as this requires no comment from me.*

THE CHATRI OF JESWANT SINGH.

Some little distance up the right bank of the river, to the north of the fort, about half-way between the garden palace of Raja Bhoj and Jafar Khan's Roza (all outside the old *city wall*), and near a village called "*Rajwarè*" (which occupies a central point near the bank of the river, on the tract of ground allotted for the residences of the Hindu Rajas who attended the court of the Mughal emperors at Agra), there is a beautiful red stone building in a very perfect state of preservation, called "*Jeswant Singh's Chatri,*" said to have been built over the spot where the body of Jeswant Singh of Mewar or Jodhpur was burnt, after his death, in the time of Aurangzib. But as he is known to have died at Kabul, could his body have been brought to Agra to be burnt? This place consists of a walled enclosure, in the centre of which is a square red stone building, the entire sides of which are composed of the most beautiful open stone lattice-work, of very varied and exquisite patterns. (In this particular, it put me most strongly in mind of the mausoleum of Pir Faddu near Repari, only that the *latter* is somewhat *smaller* and *domed*, while

* *Note by General Cunningham.*—I understand Seal Chand's statements to say no more than that Aezad Bakhsh lived during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, and that his Havaili was taken possession of in the time of Farukhsir by one of the courtiers; that is, long after the founder's death. The mention of Farukhsir's Khoja does not imply that Aezad Bakhsh was then living. If it does imply so much, then he must have been living even later, when Mr. Reid took possession of his Havaili.

Jeswant Singh's Chatri is *not domed.*) The outer side of the red stone wall of the exterior enclosure of the "*Chatri*" next the river is beautifully ornamented with sculpture in relief, the principal ornament being the representation of a beautiful long thin-necked *surai* or water-bottle, accompanied by wreaths of flowers, &c.; and I remarked the very same kind of ornamentation on the walls of the great "*burj*," or cupola'd three-storeyed tower, called the "*Battis Khambha*" in the *Buland Bagh*, or garden of Khoja Buland Khan,* above the Ram Bagh, across the river opposite. The outer walls, next the river, of the enclosure of *Jeswant Singh's Chatri* are pierced by doorways and windows, containing folding doors of stone, each half or leaf of the folding doors being formed of *one single stone*, and turning on hinges on the *mortice* and *tennon-pivot* principle. This "*Chatri*" is, in short, altogether so beautiful, so unique of its kind, and in such a perfect state of preservation, that I most certainly think it would be well worth *photographing*, especially a view from the river side.

The *Udinath Bagh* is a great old walled garden énclosure, named after *Udinath*, a Jogi or Hindu devotee, who is said to have lived in the time of Akbar. It is situated about half a mile to the west of Shahganj, and very near where the mismanaged little battle of Agra took place during the mutiny. It is a large walled enclosure, with octagonal towers at each of the four corners, and inside the wall at the eastern end of the enclosure there are the remnants of a fine old red sandstone building, of which only the southern wing is now standing; but there are several large fragments of fluted, full-bellied, stone pillars lying about, which are decidedly Hindu in character, and which indicate that there must once have been here a fine pillared building of considerable size. Towards the western end of this enclosure there is a high building of more modern construction which is still inhabited; and in the centre of the western wall there is a plain gateway. This walled enclosure contains some of the finest, loftiest and oldest trees about Agra.

There is a very interesting legend connected with this enclosure, which I will give as follows:—It is said that *Akbar* being anxious to see this Jogi, sent him a message

* Buland Khan was a "*Khwaja serai*," or chief eunuch, in the time of Jahângir.

to say that he wished him to come to his palace; but the Jogi, being, like most Jogis of ancient times, a very independent and erratic sort of individual, who pretended to treat all worldly pomps with contempt, declined to go, and said that the Badshah might come to him, if he wanted to see him. But Akbar's curiosity was only the more excited by the indifference of the Jogi, and so a few days afterwards he set out with a large retinue in order to go and see, with his own eyes, what kind of man this Jogi was. When Akbar had approached to a short distance from the Jogi's garden enclosure, the Jogi was seen squatting in abstraction, either on the top of the wall, or on the top of one of the low corner towers of the walled enclosure. Some of Akbar's followers, seeing this, looked upon it as a mark of disrespect, as they thought that, according to the usual custom, the Jogi should have come forward to meet the Badshah; and therefore they rode forward and called out to the Jogi, saying—"The Badshah is coming, how is it that you do not come out to meet him?" and also when the disciples of the Jogi, who were with him, saw the equipage of the king coming, they also had said to the Jogi—"The Badshah is coming with his retinue, go thou and meet him." But the Jogi replied to them all—"What do I care about the king! I have nothing to do with him! Let him come if he will!" At length when the king had approached pretty close to the walls of the Jogi's garden enclosure, the Jogi said to the walls, on which he sat—"The king's equipage is moving forward hither, but why do not *ye* move?" Then, obedient to the command of the Jogi, the walls of the enclosure began to move forward; and when the walls had moved forward so far until they had reached close up to the spot to which the king had arrived, the king, wonder-struck, dismounted from his elephant and made obeisance to the Jogi, and said—that he *now* found that the fame which had reached him of the Jogi's power and sanctity was a true and actual fact. The king then asked the Jogi if there was anything that he wanted, as he would grant him whatever he would wish; to which the Jogi replied—"I want nothing! What can I want?" The king then returned to his palace, pondering over the strange circumstances which had occurred.

Madhogarh was a *mud* fort built outside of and near the Bengali Burj of the fort of Agra, on a triangular spot of

low ground between the Bengali Burj, the Taj Road and the river, or, in other words, close outside the south-eastern angle of the present fort. It was built, according to some accounts, by Madho Singh, a Jat Chief of Bhartpur, and according to other and more reliable accounts, by the Mahratta Chief Madhoji Sindhia, when the Mahrattas held possession of the fort of Agra. The locality cited above, which is universally pointed out as the site of Madhogarh, is the most extraordinary position for any fort, but more especially for a *mud* fort, for the land there is very low, and constantly subject to inundation by the river; indeed, this year (1871) the river Jamna has entirely changed its course from the thither to the hither side, so that it now runs close to the eastern side of the fort, and has covered part of the site of the Madhogarh. Judging by what used to be the high-water mark of the river in former years at that spot, the only piece of ground on which the Madhogarh could have stood must have been a low triangular patch of ground measuring 700 feet in width from north to south by 400 feet from the high-water mark of the river up to the ditch of the fort. But before the British authorities constructed an embanked road between the fort and the river, the river used to come up much nearer to the fort, when the water was at its height during the rains. The Madhogarh was entirely razed to the ground, and all traces of it are swept away; and the low, originally semi-marshy, ground on which it is said to have stood, is, to my idea, the most unlikely position for a fort (especially a *mud* one) that I have ever heard of.

Old Earthworks to the South of the Fort.

I may here, however, mention that I also examined the high grounds immediately to the south of the *present* fort, exactly opposite the "*Amar Singh Gate*," and I found that the surface evidently consisted of "*made earth*," raised in a peculiar manner at two points on each side of the *centre*, and particularly at the sides and back, as if the remains of earthen ramparts. At the back or south side of this place there are two thick pillars of earth still standing out from the declivity of that side of the high ground which most certainly once formed the *cores* or *centres* of *two bastions*; and connected with these mud bastions, on the edge of the high ground close to the north, or inward side of them, there runs an *old trench*, with fragments of brick and stone scattered

along it, which evidently are the remains of the foundation of a strong wall. Similar trenches, with fragments of brick and stone, run along other portions of the edges of this high ground; and over its whole surface fragments of brick and stone either appear imbedded in the soil or lie scattered about on the surface. On the two highest points of the middle of this high ground, there are some huge fragments of massive walls lying, which from their position are evidently portions of large buildings which were probably blown up with gunpowder. One of these large fragments of masonry has circular channels (or pipes of masonry) passing through them, and probably therefore once formed a portion of a great bath, or bathing cistern. There are also the remains of some ancient *floors* or *pavements*, formed of hard cement and brick. These *latter* remnants, however, may be the remains of old *Muhammadan* palatial buildings built on the site of an old Hindu fort. But the traces of *earthworks*, which I mentioned before, are most certainly those of an *old fort*, and *not* of any mere Muhammadan buildings. A fort, if built on this spot, would overlook and command the present fort of Agra.

So convinced am I that this high ground is the site of some ancient fort, that, if I had not already good reason to believe (as I have stated in a former part of this report) that the *Badalgarh* was situated partly on the site of the present fort and partly to the west of it, to the north of the Tripolia, I would otherwise have been inclined to have looked upon the *earthworks* on the heights, to the south of the "*Amar Singh Gate,*" as a preferable site for the old *Badalgarh.*

The highest point, however, of the whole of the high ground, outside and opposite the "*Amar Singh Gate*" of the fort, is the elevated spot which is now occupied by the third and highest of the three small European cemeteries which lie outside the south of the fort.

PLACES OF INTEREST IN THE DISTRICT OF AGRA AND THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTRY.

Burhiana Palace.

Half-way between Samongar and the Taj, or about four miles beyond the Taj, there are the remains of a fine old palace, called "*Burhiana Mahal.*" Who built it, I have not yet been able to ascertain.

"BÚRIA TÁL" OR "BÚRHIYA TÁL."

(Quære? Búdhiya Tál?)

This place is situated on the other side of the river, about fourteen miles from Agra, on the Allygarh and Shekohabad Road, and about twelve miles from Nunihai. This name is given to a large ornamental tank, constructed of masonry on a raised platform of masonry, in the centre of which there is an octagonal-domed building, with a bridge on arches leading across to it. The name "*Búria Tál*" might be conceived to mean a *tank for diving* (from "*búrna*," *to dive*) rather than "*Burhiya*," or "*old woman's tank*," the common popular interpretation given to it.

But there is a tradition connected with this place which seems to bear out the popular interpretation of the name.

It is said that there was an old woman, a sort of queen of thugs, who had seven sons who were all thugs. By the proceeds of this joint-stock *strangulatory* trade she became rich; and in order to appease whatever displeasure the gods might entertain about her little breath-stopping and filching peccadilloes, she constructed this tank and building, partly for her own satisfaction, and partly as a haven of rest for jogis and faqirs of doubtful character, who found shelter here from the moral law in a study of their peculiar religious pandects in this her island home!

From the discovery of certain small sculptures found in the mud at the bottom of the "*Búria Tál*," I am inclined to think that it must be the remains of some very ancient place, and that the name may possibly be derived from *Buddhi* or *Bodhi Tál*, which might signify either the Buddhist Tank, or the tank of the Bodhi tree. Some men whom I employed to search for remains in different parts of the Agra District, brought me the following few articles, which they dug up in the mud at the bottom of the *Búria Tál*:—

(1.)—A small sculpture in lightish coloured sandstone, representing a male and female figure evidently sitting under the Buddhist Bodhi tree. On the pedestal underneath the figures there have been a series of very small figures, each riding on some animal, and of which, two of which are still distinguishable, one rides on a lion, and the other on a peacock.

(2.)—A small sculpture in red sandstone, representing three, and part of a fourth figure; the upper part of the bodies of these figures are human, with hair tied in a great bunch on top of the head, and hands joined in front in attitude of supplication; the lower part of the bodies of these figures are composed, in each instance, of three serpents' tails. I therefore take these figures to represent *Nagas*.

(3.)—A small thoroughly Jain image, but with four arms, in a cross-legged sitting position of contemplation, sculptured on a square block of limestone.

(4.)—Another small sitting image.

(5.)—A brick of a semi-elliptical shape, with a human figure moulded on it.

(6.)—A fragment of sculptured stone, about 8 inches by 6 inches, representing a strange conglomeration of legs and arms, one of which holds a Buddhist *chakra*.

THE KASSAUNDI GARHI, OR "RAJA GAJ RAJ," OTHERWISE CALLED "THE BAWAN GARHI," OR THE FIFTY-TWO FORTS.

The station of Toondla, where the Agra Branch Line joins the Grand Trunk of the East Indian Railway, is well known to most people. The village or small town of *Kassaundi* is situated about eight and a half to nine miles distant, south-east from Toondla. In fact, the *whole* of this tract to within about three miles of Toondla (or an extent of about six miles) is commonly called "*Kassaundi Garhi,*" as if it had once been one great capital city defended by a series of forts; and this is by common consent asserted by the natives to have been founded by "*Raja Gaj.*"

Leaving Toondla behind on the north-west, and proceeding south-eastwards on the Kassaundi Road (if that can be called a road, which is a mere *path* among nullahs), one first arrives at a village called "*Anwara;*" about two and a half miles distant from Toondla. In the centre of this village, or rather surrounded by the village, there is the site or the remains of the foundations of an ancient *fort*.—(Quære,—Can *Anwara* be a comaption of *Anhulwara?*) This is "*Fort No.* 1." Two aniles beyond this, one arrives at a village called "*Flampur,*" and about

one quarter of a mile to the *north* of this, there are the remains of "*Fort No.* 2." About one mile and a half to the south-east of Elampur there are the remains of *another* fort, near which there is an ancient tank or reservoir of masonry, called "*Hathi-ka-Hauz.*" This is "*Fort No.* 3." Lastly, about four miles due *east*, beyond Elampur, one at length arrives at Kassaundi, which is surrounded by the remains of the sites of *several* ancient forts and *tilas,*—*three* in particular being chiefly conspicuous towards the south, on either side of a long ravine, or series of ravines, which lead to the river (Jamna), which runs about two or three miles off towards the south. In and around this neighbourhood the remains of the *rest* of the "*Fifty-two Forts*" are said to exist. Some years ago, several of these forts were still *standing* in a partly entire state, but the villagers and country people generally have gradually demolished the walls; and I believe that when the Railway was first being constructed, the country people sold a large amount of the *materials*, of which these forts were constructed, to the Railway authorities and contractors, the Railway people being probably utterly unaware as to whence the materials really came from. If, however, the Railway people got any of the materials for use, of which these forts were constructed, they must have been *considerably superior* to any materials *now in use* with the Public Works Department! for some of the *bricks* found in the foundations of the razed Kassaundi forts are reputed to be no less than *three cubits in length* by about *one foot in thickness*, and *require four men* to carry a *single brick!* Well, to come down a bit, like Miss Martineau and her "hundreds of carriages," under the hands of Sydney Smith, or like Jake and "his hundred cats in the garden," they may *at least* be upwards of *two feet* or more in length and about *eight inches in thickness*. *These* are bricks from old *foundations*. The bricks which belonged to the *upper* portions of the walls appear to be about the same size as those I found at the *Aundha Khera* and *Surajpur*, namely, about 1 foot 3 inches in length by about 4 inches in thickness. Now *bricks* of such a size as this must be *very ancient* indeed! I have not as yet been able to get any of these bricks brought away.

As I said before, according to the traditions of that part of the country, *Kassaundi Garhi*. or at least the old razed

fortresses in its neighbourhood, were founded by "*Raja Gaj!*" But which *Raja Gaj?* is the question which at once occurs to one! Unfortunately, there were *three* or *four* ancient Rajas of that name, for instance—

1.—*Raja Gaja* of the Bhatti tribe, B. C. 94 (see genealogy of the Raos of Jesalmir), who had a son called *Salvahan.*

2.—*Gardabharupa,* vulgarly called "*Gadh,*" "*Gadhya,*" or "*Gaj,*" the son of *Sadhroshana* or *Sadasva-sèna,* of Malwa, who is supposed by some also to have been called "*Vasudeva,*" and the father of Vikramâditya I,—B. C. 91.

3.—*Raja Gaj,* the founder of Gajni and the son of *Subhava* or *Subhaga* (Quære,—*Subhaga-sèna?*),—who, some accounts say, was slain in the year 72 after Vikramâditya, that is, 72 years after B. C. 75, which is equal to B. C. 3. Which of *these* then was the founder of *Kassaundi Garhi?*

KHERAGARH.

Kheragarh is situated about twenty-four miles to the south of Agra, and about eight miles to the west of the Gwalior Road, on the banks of the Ban Ganga river. It is a large village, or small town, standing on a large and ancient Khera.

About 300 or 400 feet to the north* side of Kheragarh there is an old *Tila* in which ancient sculptures are often found; and there is another *Tila,* called "*Taisu Tila,*" about 500 feet to the east side of Kheragarh, in which ancient sculptures have also frequently been found. There are the remains of a mud fort at Kheragarh which is said to have been built on the site of an *ancient* fort built of *brick,* which is the origin of the word "*garh*" in the name of "*Kheragarh.*"

"KHÁNGAR RÔR," "KÂGA RÔR," *or* "KÁGARÔLL."

Kágarôll is situated about *three kôs this side* of Kheragarh, and about *eighteen miles from Agra.* It is a very ancient place, and the present village stands on an ancient *Tila,* composed of the *debris* of an ancient fort. There are the remains of a very strong and thick wall which runs through below the western part of the village of Kágarôll. This wall

is composed of huge blocks of red sandstone, some of them beautifully carved. A great portion of this wall lies *still* buried under the earth of the old *Tila* on which the village of Kágarôll stands; but *another* portion of the wall which extended *beyond* the *Tila* had been almost entirely dug up by the peasantry, until at length they began to quarrel about their respective right to the materials. There is *no* wall now *standing* isolated by itself.

I find, by enquiries made of the inhabitants of the place, that the statement which recently appeared in the *Delhi Gazette* is quite true so far as, that the ancient fort buried under this place was *actually* founded by a "*Raja Ror,*" who is said to have been the son of "*Khángar.*"

There is a tradition preserved in the neighbourhood about a "*white crow*" or *kag,* in consequence of the appearance of which, as an omen of augury, Raja Ror built a fort here, and from which circumstance it was called "*Kága Ror,*" now corrupted to "*Kágaról l.*" But to my mind the name of the fort is evidently derived from the combined names of *Raja Khángar* and his son *Raja Ror,* which would form the name of *Khángar Ror,* which in time might easily have been corrupted to *Khángar-Roll* or *Kágaról l.* It must also be remembered that there is a *tribe of Rajputs** called "*Rora.*"

It seems that there are many remains frequently found, or dug up at Kágarôll, such as sculptures, images, old coins, &c.

Two trustworthy men whom I lately sent there to explore the place brought me the following things, which had been dug up at Kágarôll†:—

(1).—An image of a *warrior* in yellowish sandstone; present height about 13 inches; but as it has lost the lower part of the right leg from the ankle and the lower part of the left leg from below the knee, its *original* height was probably about 1 foot 4 inches. It is a very boldly sculptured figure, and the features of the face are fine and manly, and of the handsomest Hindu type. The *warrior* has his right knee raised; on his right arm he presents a *shield* in defence and in his *left* hand he brandishes a *straight sword* of huge

* Or perhaps more correctly, I should say—"there is a *division of the Kshatrya race* called *Rora.*"

† They said, however, that "there were *numerous other large and heavy images and other sculptures lying about* which they were unable to bring away!"

dimensions over his head. In a belt round his waist he wears a dagger with a cross-shaped hilt at his left side. The hair of the head is full, but drawn back in straight lines on the head. The figure is naked, with the exception of a cloth round the loins, a belt round the waist, and a triple necklace round the neck. It is evidently the figure of a *warrior* of great strength, probably of some ancient *hero*. I should not wonder if this were a figure of *Raja Ror* himself.

(2).—A small *female figure*, carved in relief, in a kneeling or sitting position.

(3).—A small figure, in white sandstone, of a *bull*, springing forward in great terror, with the fore-legs raised, and attacked from behind by either a leopard or a tiger or a lion, which has got hold of the *bull's* tail in its mouth. *Behind* the *bull's* fore-legs a *man's leg* and *foot* appear, but the upper part of this human figure has been broken off, and on the top of the back of the bull there are the remains of two human feet of much smaller dimensions than the other.

(4).—The remains of a small *elephant* or a *bull in steatite.*

(5).—Two very small and curious figures carved in some kind of *greyish-black* stone, one of which is like an elephant, but with a very long conicalshaped human-like face. Underneath its belly there is a *young one* sucking at its teats. The other is a small sitting figure, probably of some divinity, with a very absurd physiognomy.

A *few coins* were also brought to me from Kágarôll, all of which were either very much defaced or of no importance, with the exception of *one* which I can hardly call a coin, but which is a thin *dice* of copper or mixed metal, one side of which is covered with a representation of a circular rayed symbol, resembling a *chakra* or wheel, and the other side appears to be blank.

I hope, however, to obtain *more coins* from that locality, as the inhabitants of the place say that a great many coins, as well as images and other sculptures in stone, are found there.

About quarter of a mile to the north of Kágarôll there is a very fine *Muhammadan mausoleum*, called the "*Bara*

Khambha," built of red sandstone. The roof is supported by *twelve pillars*, and is surmounted by a dome. There are four tombs in this mausoleum; on one of them there is an inscription, of which I have received an impression. I had measurements and a rough ground plan made of this mausoleum.

JAJAO.

Jajao is a village situated on the Utangan river, about eight miles to the east of Kheragarh, and on the old Gwalior Road which was in use in the time of the Mughals It is remarkable for possessing a very large and grand royal *serai* with a very lofty gateway, which is said to be higher than the lofty gateway of the Ladli Bagh, Agra. The gateway is built of red sandstone, and contains three storeys, and is surmounted by a *chatri* or pavilion and two domes. There is a very fine Masjid in the west side of the *serai* built of red sandstone. There is a very long Arabic inscription on a slab of white marble over the central *kibla apse* of the Masjid. I have received an *impression* of this inscription, but it was so *badly taken* that I have not yet been able to read it. I had measurements and a rough ground plan made of the *serai* with the gateway and the Masjid.

I may mention that Jajao has evidently been an ancient Hindu place, as several ancient sculptures have been found there. One which was brought to me, a small oblong slab of variegated sandstone, represents two standing human figures in relief; one, either male or female, with a high head-dress, like a grenadier's cap, holding a cup in the right hand, and a club in the left hand; the other a female figure with something like a bead-belt round the waist, with a high puckered head-dress, a necklace, and great earrings, and supporting with the right hand something which appears very much like a Buddhist symbol, namely, a globe supporting a pedestal, on which there is an arch-shaped object.

JAGNER.

Jagner is a place situated between Rûpbâs and Biana. There is a now nearly closed up cave or caves there, connected with which there is the following tradition :—

A Hindu Jogi or Bairâgi, or hermit, lived there in a cave in ancient times. He had a cow (or) according to some

accounts, milch-goats) which he entrusted to a *Gwala*, or a herdsman, to pasture. At the end of the time agreed upon, the herdsman came for his pay. The hermit gave the man only a handful of grains of wheat or barley. The herdsman went away offended and disgusted, and threw away the grains of corn which he had received; but on his road home he happened to see that some of the grains were still sticking to his clothes; but, lo! and behold! they were no longer mere common grains of corn, but they had turned into grains of gold. The herdsman then thought better of the matter, and turned back towards the hermit's cave, in order to ask for some more of these grains of corn which turned into gold. But when he arrived at the cave, he found it closed up, and the hermit gone; but a supernatural voice proceeded from the interior of the cave saying—"From henceforth let there be a *mela* or fair held here every year in remembrance of me, and those who shall present offerings at this shrine shall obtain the blessing of prolificness and prosperity!" In consequence of this, a fair is still held here every year, at which numbers of people from various parts of India attend, specially women. The hermit had, it seems, during his life tamed some small animals which inhabited the caves, but regarding which I am unable to find out whether they were mungoose or civet-cats. The people, specially the women, who attend these fairs always present offerings of food and milk for the use of these animals.

On the heights above and near Jagner there are a number of *cairns* or heaps of stones, which I myself believe to be the sepulchral remains of the aborigines of the country, but connected with which there is the following popular tradition: It is said that, in very ancient times, a royal marriage procession was passing that way; but according to *some* accounts the party was struck down by thunderbolts or lightning, while, according to *other* accounts, they were attacked and slain by enemies or robbers; and on the spots where they fell, people who passed by that way had, from time immemorial, each thrown a stone, until at length on each spot there was a heap of stones, or, in other words, a series of *cairns*.

From Jagnér I received a piece of sculpture, namely, a cross-legged sitting figure, apparently Jain or Buddhist sculptured in relief, on a semi-elliptical-shaped slab of red sandstone. Height of stone 1 foot, breadth 8 inches.

"Purâna Khera," near Ghonsli, north of the Chambal River.

About five or six *kos* (ten or twelve miles) to the south of Bhateswar, and about one mile this side of a village called "*Ghonsli*," on or near the left or hitherward bank of the river Chambal, there *is a very large* "*Khera*," called "*Purana Khera*," which is the site of some ancient city. The small villages of "*Abhéhpura*," "*Sanpura*," and "*Garhi*" now stand on or near this ancient "*Khera*," and about four to four and a half miles distant from this "*Purana Khera*" the villages of *Bai* and *Jarar* are situated.

Remains from "Khetli Ghât," Chambal; "Nurabad," beyond the Chambal; Adâlatnagar; and Itmadpur.

From Khetli Ghat, Chambal.—A Buddhist or Jain image, apparently female, in a cross-legged sitting posture, the hands joined in supplication, the face very broad and Turanian, the top of the head terminating in a point, the ears enormous and pendulous, with large pendant earrings; height 8 inches, breadth 5½ inches.

From Nurabad.—A splendid three-headed figure, perfect to the waist, apparently of the Hindu "*Tri-murti*," beautifully sculptured in an exceedingly heavy greenish coloured kind of basaltic stone. Present height 1 foot 1 inch, breadth of stone 9 inches.

From Adalatnagar.—A block of light-coloured sandstone, about 1 foot 4 inches in height by about 9 inches in width, elaborately sculptured, displaying numerous figures,—among others, two central figures, male and female, standing under a canopy, with a little child of minute dimensions between them. I am told that there is an inscription on a slab of stone at Adâlatnagar.

From Itmadpur.—An oblong piece of variegated red sandstone, with a clamp hole at top, which evidently once formed portion of a building, the front of the stone being carved into a pilaster-shaped projection, with figures sculptured on it—two central sitting figures under canopies, one above the other, with other half figures appearing at each side of them.

Jalèsar.

There is an old fort of some consideration at *Jalèsar*, which is by some supposed to have been originally founded

by the Rajas of Taragarh, but which was added to, altered, and occupied by Muhammadan Governors. There are also said to be old mounds or "*tilas*" at or near Jalèsar; and I am told that ancient Hindu coins are frequently found there.

Jalèsar appears to have been at one time in the possession of the *Tomar* Rajas of Taragarh.

I am told that there is a large *stone figure of a horse*, built into a wall, at Jalèsar, connected with which there is a tradition, somewhat to the following effect:—It is said that there was a Muhammadan "*Pir*" or saint at Jalèsar who was killed in some battle or affray with the Hindu Rajas of Taragarh, and that after he was killed his *horse returned* by itself to Jalèsar, and there *turned into stone;* and to commemorate this event, there is a fair held at Jalèsar every year at the spot where the *stone horse* is.

BLACK BASALTIC PILLARS FOUND AT AGRA.

Before concluding this report, it may be well that I should offer a few remarks in connection with the *great square black basaltic pillar* which, with the *base* and *capital* of *another* similar pillar, and a long ponderous *block* of similar stone, which probably formed part of the entablature over the pillars, are now in the grounds of the museum at Agra.

The *pillar* above referred to, it is well known, once stood in the garden of the Taj Mahal; and while there, for some reason or other now unknown, the shaft of the pillar used to *rock* on its base, with a slight touch of the hand, like one of the "*logan*" or rocking stones.

Besides the remains of another pillar, and the large block of similar stone, before mentioned, which are in the grounds of the museum, there are also the remains of a *third* pillar, now placed as gateposts at the gate of a European residence in the cantonments at Agra.

Now, it is said that these block pillars, when in a perfect state, along with several others, originally stood in a line outside the water-gate of the fort of Agra, between the fort and the river, but that some of them had fallen down before the most perfect and complete one of them was removed from thence and placed in the Taj garden.

These pillars were, most certainly, the work of *Hindus*, and they may be *either Jain* or *Brahmanical*, although

I myself am inclined to think that they are Jain, as their shape and style are Jain in character, and I believe that they resemble the pillars of several ancient Jain colonnades still existing in India.

The only conclusion, therefore, that I can come to is, that these pillars formed the colonnade to the entrance, from the river, of some ancient Hindu building, which was probably pulled down and destroyed when the fort was built; and, moreover, I believe that a very massive and elaborately sculptured *black marble Jain image*,* which is now at the Agra Museum, must originally have belonged to the same locality, as I have heard that it was dug up somewhere near the fort and near the river.

ID GAH (MASJID) OF ALA-UD-DEEN KHILJI, AND TOMB OF PIR FADDU NEAR REPARI.

The road that leads from Shekohabad to Bhateswar runs nearly southwards, or south-east by south. At the distance of about ten miles from the Shekohabad Railway Station (or twelve miles from Shekohabad itself), one arrives at a Muhammadan village called "*Répari*,"† situated in the midst of ravines, and near which there is an old fort now in ruins. From Répari to the bank of the river Jamna is about two miles; and from thence there is a ferry which crosses the river to Kalinjar, from which place to Bhateswar is about two miles more.

But *before* reaching Répari, and when I had gone about nine miles on the road, I observed, at some distance to the left hand side of the road towards the south-east, a ruined building of a reddish colour standing on a high ground. I therefore went off the road to see what it was, and in doing so, I had to cross several deep ravines. On arriving at the spot, I found the building to be the remains of an ancient Masjid of large size, surrounded by Muhammadan tombs on all sides. It was evidently built as an *Id Gah*, as may be inferred from the mention of the "*feast of Ramzan* in the inscription preserved there. I also found that the natives of Répari generally spoke of this building as an *Id Gah*. There does not seem to have ever been more than one huge

* Of "*Munimuvrathă*," judging by the *tortoise* symbol.

† *Note by General Cunningham.*—This place is called *Rápri* by all Muhammadan writers excepting only Nizamut Ullah, who agrees with Mr. Carlleyle in writing Rebari or Repari.

western wall to this Id Gah, and which wall terminates at each end with a plain massive tower, with sides sloping inwards upwardly in the Pathan style. On walking round to the eastern or inner side of this wall, I found over a central recess, or apse, a long inscription on a stone set into the wall, at a height of about eighteen feet from the ground (so that it was ultimately found necessary to procure a long ladder from a neighbouring village in order to take an impression of the inscription). According to this inscription, of which I took an impression, this Id Gah was built in the time of "*Ala-ud-din Muhammad Shah Sikandar-ul-sáni, in the year (A. H.)* 711."

The following is a copy of the inscription :—

بنا این تعمیر شریف لتوفیق منزلے و تائید سبحانی و بفضل ربانی در
عمل خلافت سکندر الثانی علا الدنیا و الدین المخصوص بعنایت رب العالمین
ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان ناصر امیرالمومنین و نوبت عنایت الله مکبر
خدائگانی کافورملطانی بفضل الله منهم و احسن الله جرائمه فی المنتصف
مرشمل المبارک رمضان عظمه الله حرمته سنه احدي عشر و سبعامة ؛

which may be translated as follows :—

"This sacred and magnificent place (notwithstanding its faults) was built in the time of the illustrious *Sikandar-ul-sani* [*i. e.*, the second Alexander] Alâ ul dunya w'al din Abu al mazafar Muhammad Shah Sultan by the grace of the Almighty Creator, defender of the Muhammadan faith and a great and powerful ruler and Sultan; may God cast his shadow thereon. God's mercy is great in having caused the blessed month of Râmzân to be instituted. May God make it glorious. In the year 711."

The dimensions of the Id Gah are as follows: total *length*, including towers, 157 feet 10 inches; length from tower to tower at front 129 feet 2 inches;* mean thickness of wall 6 feet; circumference of towers at base 45 feet; diameter of towers at base 15 feet; thickness of wall of towers 3 feet 8 inches. As the walls of these towers slope very greatly inwards, the diameter at the top of the towers will, of course, be a very great deal less than that at the

* The distance between the towers at the back of the building, however, is only 124 feet 1 inch, which difference is caused by the somewhat *backward* position of the towers. See plan of this Id Gah in plate.

base by calculation; not more than 11 feet 6 inches at top. There are eleven recesses in the walls (including the central apse) in front, three of which are 3 feet 10 inches in depth, and the remainder 2 feet 10 inches in depth. The outward breadth of the central apse is 7 feet 6 inches, decreasing inwardly with a concavely curved back, divided into three faces, and surmounted by a hemispherical arch above. The other two larger recesses are each 7 feet 2 inches in breadth, and the remainder of the minor recesses vary from 5 feet 2 inches to 5 feet 7 inches in breadth. Along the back or west side of the wall of the Id Gah, there are five square-shaped buttresses, 3 feet in depth (sloping upwards and decreasing to about 2 feet at top) by 7 feet 6 inches in length, leaving a space of 11 feet 6 inches between each, except between the two on each side of the central one. In the space to each side of the central buttress at the back of the walls, which would otherwise have been occupied by two other buttresses, there are two flights of stairs projecting from the wall, the lower steps leading up to which commence in the two recesses left, one on each side of the great central projection or buttress; and in the northern one of these two recesses there is a doorway or entrance to a through passage, which is 7 feet 4 inches in breadth outwardly, but which suddenly contracts to about 3 feet, and passes through the wall diagonally or in a slanting direction, and comes out on the other (or east) side of the wall to the right, or north side of the central apse, by a narrow doorway of only 2 feet 3 inches in width. The plan of this Id Gah is altogether peculiar and different from any that I had seen before. Along the whole length of the interior or east face of the wall, at a height of about twenty feet from the ground, there is a row of bright-blue glazed tiles from end to end, and which run close over the top of the inscription. The wall is surmounted by the usual semi-elliptical-shaped battlements, or crenelations peculiar to India. The entire height of the wall is about 30 feet 6 inches, and with the addition of the crenelations it is about 32 feet.

This Id Gah is built of brick, but the great peculiarity about it is the nature of the bricks of which it is built. The whole of the brick-work, at least on the interior or east side of the Masjid, has been covered with plaster, and to this plaster surface the Masjid was no doubt indebted for any further ornamentation beyond the blue tiles, as might indeed

be seen in the arches of the small recesses in which the "*Kalima*" was inscribed or formed in plaster on small circular plaster medallions. As might be expected in many places, the plaster had entirely fallen off, leaving the brick-work bare and exposed. On examining this brick-work, I found that the greater portion of the bricks were moulded into patterns, but placed promiscuously in the wall along with other bricks which were not moulded, but plain. Indeed, in many cases the *pattern* had been turned *upside down*; and in other cases bricks that appeared to be plain were evidently the very same bricks with the pattern turned inside, and the plain side of the brick turned outwards (for these bricks were moulded into patterns *only on one side*). In short, these ornamentally moulded bricks evidently had nothing whatever to do with the original design of the building, but were built into the wall in any kind of way, without any regard whatever to the patterns with which they were moulded. The patterns moulded on these bricks were sometimes in the form of scrolls, sometimes of squares, and sometimes of angular figures, and, no doubt, if carefully picked out and selected, several of them, if put together, would be found to compose a *complete* whole pattern or design. It is evident, therefore, that this Id Gah is entirely built of bricks which had belonged to some other and much more ancient building which had been pulled down and destroyed. It is quite possible, therefore, that they may have originally belonged to some ancient Hindu temples in the neighbourhood, which the Muhammadans under Âla-ud-din had destroyed according to their usual custom.

At a short distance from the southern end of this Id Gah, I discovered two remarkable *mausoleums* standing in a durgah, or enclosure. These, I was told by the country people, contained the tombs of a Muhammadan saint called "*Pir Faddu*" and his family. These mausoleums are of a square shape, domed and built of red sandstone. The sides of the mausoleums are composed of beautiful open stone lattice-work, similar to that found in tombs at Agra and Delhi, but in this instance in red sandstone instead of marble. In each mausoleum there are two marble tombstones, or sarcophagi, inscribed with quotations from the Quran.*

* It appears that it was supposed that there were three tombs in each mausoleum, but in my notes I find only two perfect tombs mentioned as being in each mausoleum. But there are several tombstones lying about.

As it was getting late in the evening, and I had still five or six miles of my route to Bhateswar before me to complete, I had not time to make a complete survey of the locality, but a *ground plan* of the Id Gah will be found to accompany this report.*

On my way from the Id Gah to the river side (which I had to cross by a ferry in order to get to Bhateswar), I passed through the village of *Repari*, which lies about a mile and a half distant, *southwards* (or south-west by south), from the Id Gah of Ala-ud-din. This is entirely a Muhammadan village, containing about a thousand inhabitants, and has probably existed since the days of Ala-ud-din. On the high ground, on the west side of Repari, there is an old *fort*, now in *ruins;* but whether it was originally of Hindu construction, or entirely built by Muhammadans, as a nucleus of the village, I had not the opportunity of ascertaining.

From Repari to the ferry at the river side is about two miles. On crossing by ferry to Kalinjar, on the opposite bank of the river Jamna, I found Kalinjar to be an old Hindu village, situated partly on a high bank, or bluff above the river, and partly extending down into the low ground which once formed part of an *old bed* of the river Jamna, which is now dry and under cultivation. I shall have a few further remarks to make with reference to this village of Kalinjar, which will be found further on.

Bhateswar and Surajpur.

In Tod's "Memoir of Greek, Parthian, and Hindu Medals found in India," in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, p. 314, we find the following solitary notice of the remains of a supposed ancient city near Bhateswar, called "*Surapura.*" He says:—"Conversing with the principal disciple of a celebrated *Jain* priest of Gwalior about ancient cities, he related to me an anecdote of a poor man, about thirty-five years ago, having discovered, amidst the few fragments left of *Surapura*, on the *Yamuna*, a bit of (what he deemed) glass; showing it to a silversmith, he sold it for one rupee; the purchaser carried his prize to Agra and sold it for Rs. 5,000, for it was a *diamond.* The

* The two mausoleums, as well as the Id Gah, would, however, be well worthy of a visit by a *photographer*, commissioned by the Director General of the Archæological Survey.

finder naturally wished to have a portion of the profit, and on refusal, waylaid and slew the silversmith. The assassin was carried to Agra to be tried, and thus the name of *Surapura* became known beyond its immediate vicinity. This was a sufficient inducement to me to despatch one of my coin-hunters, and I was rewarded by Apollodotus and several Parthian coins. The remains of *Surapura* are close to the sacred place of pilgrimage, called by us *Betaisor*, on the Yamuna, between Agra and Etawah. Tradition tells us that it was an ancient city, and most probably was founded by *Surasena*,* the grandfather of Krishna, and consequently the capital of the *Suraseni* of the historians of Alexander, which name they very appropriately assigned to the kingdom of *Mathura*. Arrian mentions *two* capital cities on the Yamuna, *Methoras* and *Clisobaras*. We easily recognize the first; yet, much as the Greeks disfigured proper names, we can hardly twist the latter into *Surapura*."

With the above passages in my memory, my first impulse, after arriving at Bhateswar, was, very naturally, to make immediate enquiries concerning the position and site of this supposed ancient city of "*Surapura*," for the existence of which I had little more than the authority above quoted to go upon.

This vexed question, however, I very soon settled satisfactorily. By various enquiries made of the Brahmans and Pujaries in charge of the temple at Bhateswar, and of some of the more intelligent of the natives of Bhateswar and the surrounding villages, I found that they entirely *ignored* the existence of any ancient place or site by the name of "*Surapura*" in the neighbourhood of Bhateswar. But—and herein lies the true explanation of the whole matter—they said that an ancient name of the *older* or *former* city of Bhateswar (*now* a *deserted waste*, near the bank of the *old* course of the river, to the *north*) was "*Surapur*," and that it was founded by a "*Raja Surajsein*," or "*Surajsén*," but of the *period* of whose reign they were utterly *ignorant*; they only knew that it was *many centuries ago*. They also said that Bhateswar was *still* called "*Surajpur*" by the *Sraogis* or *Jains*,—but *only* by the *Jains*, and *not* by the Hindus. In the course of further enquiries, I also learnt that there were *two ancient sites* on the lofty heights or table-lands, surrounded

* This is a mistake of Tod's. The grandfather of Krishna was "*Sura*," not "*Surasena*."

by deep *khuds* or ravines *above* Bhateswar, and called, respectively, the "*Purana Khera*" and the "*Aundha Khera*"* (which I presently *visited*, as will be seen in the course of this report); and that about half or three-quarters of a mile *beyond the* "*Aundha Khera*," on the bank of the *old* bed of the river, there was the site of the "*Garhi*," or *fort* of the ancient *city* of *Surajpur*, of *which* the "*Aundha Khera*" formed a *part*.

During the forenoon of the *first* day of my stay at Bhateswar, I visited the principal or most important of the Hindu temples in Bhateswar itself, which are situated along the bank of the river. The principal temples are *nine*† in number, namely, "*Panch mukhti*," "*Mati mandar*," "*Mandal mandar*," "*Gauri sankar*," "*Bhateswarnath*," "*Mahadev mandar*," and *three* other smaller temples built by a former Raja of Bhateswar. With the exception of the temple of Bhateswarnath, these temples are of modern date. The temple of Bhateswarnath is the oldest, and is said to have been originally founded by Raja *Surajsein*. This, however, is impossible, for, though old, it has no appearance of being *very* ancient. Unfortunately, I could find *no* inscription in this temple, and have therefore no actual *data* to go upon.‡ The *next* temples in point of priority of date, but more modern than the last, are (1), the "*Panch mukhti mandar*," with a renewed inscription, of which the *old* date is Samvat 1713, and the date of *renewal*, Samvat 1849, and (2), "*Mandal mandar*," *old* date in inscription, Samvat 1703, and date of *renewal* by a Rani of Bhatáwar, Samvat 1838. In the temple of "*Gauri sankar*" there are three images, namely, of *Siva*, *Parvati*, and *Ganesha*. On the pedestal of the image of *Siva* and *Parvati*, and on a square object in the left hand of *Ganesha*, there are inscriptions. Of these inscriptions I took impressions. The date on the pedestal of the images of *Siva* and *Parvati* is Samvat 1819—A. D. 1762. The remaining temples are all about either equally or more modern than the last,—the date in an inscription on the "*Mati mandar*" being Samvat 1782, renewed in Samvat 1860. Of all these inscriptions I took impressions.

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* "*Aundha*" or "*Ondha*"—*overturned*.

† When I say they are "*nine in number*," I mean the *principal* temples; for there are said to be no less than *one hundred and seventy temples* of all sorts, large and small, at Bhateswar altogether.

‡ I have reason to believe that it is only about *two hundred years old*, as that is about the age (or date of foundation) of the *present* modern town of Bhateswar.

The tutelary divinity of Bhateswar is *Bhateswarnath*; and it is a coincidence worthy of remark that Bhateswar belongs to the family of the Rajas of Bhatáwar, which name is probably erroneously spelt with a "*d*," as Bhadáwar, the name of the tribe or clan of Rajputs to which they belong having *perhaps* originally been "*Bhatáwaria*;" consequently it is possible that "*Bhateswarnath*" may originally have been the *tutelary divinity of the family* or *tribe* of the Rajas of *Bhatáwar*, and *from* which divinity Bhateswar (or at least *modern* Bhateswar) had received its name. If it were not that the Rajas of Bhatáwar are of the *solar* race, while the old *Bhati*, or *Bhatti*, Raos of *Jesalmer*, were of the *lunar* race, one might almost fancy, from the similarity of the names of the two families, that there might originally have been some connection between them.*

With regard to the Raja "*Surajsein*," whom all the inhabitants of Bhateswar agreed in stating to have been the *founder* of that place, or at least of the *ancient* city of "*Surajpur*," it was conjectured by Tod (as before quoted) that "*Surapura*" might have been founded by "*Surasena*" (*i. e., Sura*), the grandfather of Krishna ! This, however, is a mere mythical uncertainty. But, then, where, and in what actual dynasty, are we to look for the traditional "*Surajsein?*" In the genealogy of the Rajas of Malwa of the *Pramara* race, commencing with "*Dhananjaya*," who is supposed to have lived about B. C. 840, we find that about B. C. 271 there was a "*Sadhroshana*" or "*Sadasvasena*;" and again that about A. D. 135 there was a "*Karaksen*," *also called* "SURYASENA !" Could this *latter* "*Suryasena*" possibly have been identical with "*Surajsen*," the founder of "*Surajpur*," the *original Sanskrit* name of which was, no doubt, *Suryapura ?*†

According to Tod, "*Raja Bhoja*," of the *same* race (A. D. 483), was a *secret convert to the Jain religion !* May not, then, his *predecessor*, "*Suryasena*," four centuries previously, have been a professor of the *old* or *early* form of the *Jain* religion, or, in other words, of *Buddhism*, which *recent*

* The *Rajas* of *Bhatawar* trace their descent from *Surajséna*; they are the lineal descendants of the *founder* of *Surajpur;* and it is well known that they hold the chief place of *honour* at the *head* of the whole of the Rajputs or *Kshatriya race*. An examination of their *family genealogies*, preserved by their *Purohit*, or family priest, would therefore be well worth the while of the members of the Archæological Survey.

† There is one difficulty, however, in the way of this theory, or rather suggestion, of mine. The Rajas of *Malwa* were of the *Agnikula* race, while the Rajas of Bhatawar (the descendants of *Surajséna*) are of the *Surya-vansa* or *solar* race.

discoveries by *General Cunningham* at *Mathura* have *proved* to have been not only *contemporary with Buddhism*, but also *identical* with it, or *merely* a *form* or *sect* of it? All this *agrees* with the fact, before mentioned, that the name of *Surajpura* was of "*ancient Jain*," that is, of *Buddhist*, origin!

On a high ground, on the *north* side of, and about the centre of, Bhateswar, there is a *fort*, which is said to have been commenced by one of the Rajas of Bhatawar about 100 years ago. But the Raja died before the work was quite completed, in consequence of which the fort has remained ever since in a partly unfinished state.

The "Purana Khera" and "Aundha Khera."

On the *afternoon* of the first day of my visit to Bhateswar, I went up to the lofty heights which rise *above* the present town to visit the ancient site called the "*Aundha Khera*" (before mentioned). On proceeding up a ravine which runs up the hill side from about the centre of Bhateswar to the unfinished *fort* of the Rajas of Bhatawar, one reaches a ridge, or height of land, from which a ravine descends on the other side, northwards, towards a still larger ravine, or series of ravines, which run nearly north and south, and divide two high table-lands apart, the *one* to the *east*, and the other to the *north-west*. One then sees that the *summit* of *each* of these *table-lands* is *crowned* with groups of *temples*. The summit of the table-land on the north-east is called the "*Purana Khera*," which signifies *the ancient* or *former city*, and which is situated about a *mile* to the *north-east by north* of Bhateswar, while the table-land on the north-west is called the "*Aundha Khera*," which signifies *the overturned city*; and the *latter* is *so* called in connection with a *tradition* current among the people, that it was *overturned* many centuries or ages ago by some great convulsion or catastrophe. The "*Aundha Khera*" is situated about *two miles* to the *north* or *north-west by north* of Bhateswar, and about a mile to the west by north of the "*Purana Khera*." On arriving at the summit of the "*Aundha Khera*," I found a group of about *five Jain temples* (with smaller subsidiary shrines attached to two of them) still standing; some of which I found to be of *middle* age, and *one* quite modern. But immediately *behind* these temples, to the *west*, and

close to the edge of a deep "*khud*" or ravine, which runs at the *back*, there rises a high, rather square-shaped *tila* or *mound* with sloping sides, which forms the highest summit of the *Khera*. This higher ground, from the numerous trenches and traces of foundations of walls on it and around it, I immediately perceived must have been the site of *much more ancient* temples, (probably a fortified temple enclosure). This indeed was afterwards proved by the discovery of numerous *ancient sculptures* and images, and fragments of images, and ancient *bricks* of a *large size*, which I found there either buried in the ground or scattered about on it. But I *also* discovered that *two* of the more *recent* Jain temples, *now* standing, are actually built partly on the foundations of ancient walls, but promiscuously as it were or *without reference* to the more ancient sites on which they stand. On that same afternoon, I myself picked up a fragment of an image in whitish sandstone; and, what was more important, *also* the fragment of a *Buddhist* "*Chakra*" in *red sandstone*, on the left side of which were the remains of two small human figures carved in relief, the *lower* one of which was the head and shoulders of a man, wearing the characteristic *Buddhist head dress*, as seen in other Buddhist sculptures at Mathura and Bhilsa. The left hand of the figure rested on the top of a sort of crutch-shaped or crutch-headed staff, or club, or mace, the head of the staff being formed in the shape of a lion. To the right side of the figure, there appeared something like the representation of either a huge club or a pillar. This was perhaps the *only undoubted* fragment of *genuine Buddhist* sculpture which I found at the "*Aundha Khera*," but a series of *prolonged* systematic *excavations* on the spot would, no doubt, produce many *more* such. As will presently be seen, however, I *afterwards* discovered three objects (two of them of large size), which *may* be *either* of *Buddhist* or of *ancient Jain* origin.

The site of the "*Aundha Khera*", or *overturned city*, is a raised plateau, or small table-land, situated between ravines of 1,000 feet by 1,000 feet (or 1,000,000 *square* feet) in extent, *not* counting the lower cultivated land on the *slopes* on its northern and eastern sides; and the space occupied by the temples now standing, and the *sites* or *traces* of more ancient buildings, is an area of 400 feet by 350 feet, on 140,000 square feet. To the east and north-east of these

temples, however, there are *three other tilas* or mounds; the larger one opposite towards the east is situated at a distance of 556 feet from the temples, and is an irregular five-sided figure, of which the sides gave the following measurements: 150 feet, 200 feet, 80 feet, 30 feet, and 100 feet. At or near three of the corners or salient angles, and in one retreating angle, there are low, round, or oval-shaped heaps or knolls of earth, which may possibly represent the remains of the foundations of towers. This "*tila*" may either have been the site of an old *fort*, or of a walled village. On the north side (which is the steepest) is also the trace of a place of *entrance* into the area. The *north* side is *steep* and terraced, while the *east side slopes* away towards a ravine, and has evidently been much washed away and worn down by the action of water during the rains. The soil on this mound has been ploughed and under cultivation, so that I could not expect to find much there; but I saw numerous fragments of *bricks*, and picked up a few small fragments of carved stone.* Of the *other two mounds*, one is situated at a distance of about 735 feet to the north of the last, and the other about 210 feet to the west of this one, and between it and the temples, and at a distance of about 608 feet from the temples. These two *latter mounds* are of *smaller* dimensions than the first mentioned, the one being about 100 feet in diameter, and the other about 80 feet. One is of an irregularly squared shape, rounded on one side, and the other is roundish. *These also* have been under cultivation, but I found that the earth contained numerous fragments of *bricks*.† The *high tila behind the temples*, however, from its steepness and ruggedness, and being situated on the brink of a precipice, is *untouched* and in a state of *uncultivated wildness*.

The evening coming on, and having left my baggage at Bhateswar, I returned to that place for the night.

On the following morning early I started with my baggage and servants, and four men from Bhateswar, and proceeded *this* time *first* to the "*Purâna Khera*" on the high ground, one mile to the north-east by north from Bhateswar. On arriving at the *summit* of the *Khera*, I found it covered by a

* Some of the country people told me that *many old coins* had from time to time been dug up in the soil of *this tila*. *This tila* is no doubt the "*Garh* on the *Audha Khera*," one of the "*seven Garhis*" which, the country people say, once existed in the neighbourhood of Bhateswar.

† I really think that the two *smaller* detached mounds to the north may *once* have been Buddhist *Stupas* or topes.

group of seven Hindu temples, dedicated to *Dêvi*. These temples did *not* appear to me to be very old, or, at least, not more than middle-aged; but I could discover no inscriptions about them from which I might have gained any information as to their date. I found reason, however, to believe that these temples are built on the sites of much more ancient ones; indeed for that matter they stand in the midst of the buried remains of the *second* city of "*Surajpur*," which is now appropriately called the "*Purana Khera*," or *old city*. Wherever, as in the perpendicular sides of the deep *khuds* or ravines with which the *Khera* is intersected, I could see a *section* of the *soil* or *strata*, I observed that for from 20 to 30 feet in depth, it was almost entirely composed of *ancient bricks* of a *large size*, *tiles*, *pottery*, *small fragments* of *stone*, the *ashes* of fires, and everything in fact that betokened *human habitation prolonged for centuries upon centuries*. There are *also* traces of a "*Garhi*," or *small fort*, on the "*Purana Khera*." There are said to be the remains of no less than *seven Garhis* or *forts* in the neighbourhood of Bhateswar, one of which is that on the "*Purana Khera*," another *on* the "*Aundha Khera*," the third *near* the "*Aundha Khera*," the fourth is the *Garhi* of *Surajpur*, north of the "*Aundha Khera*," and the *other three* are in different parts of the high ground of the Bhateswar peninsula.

We have already learned from the quotation I have made from Tod's writings that the existence of the *site* of an *ancient* city called "*Surapura*" *first* became known to *Europeans* through the instrumentality of a *native* who found a *diamond* there, and murdered the man to whom he had ignorantly sold it for next to nothing, and was therefore brought to Agra for trial. But I shall *now* mention a *tradition* which is still current among the people of the place connected with the "*Purana Khera*," which we may safely identify with the *second* city of "*Suryapura*" or "*Surajpur*." The people say that much *gold* with silver and precious stones are *still* found in the ground at the "*Purana Khera*," and that there is an *ancient tradition* current that it once "*rained gold and silver and gems from heaven*" on that place many ages ago!

The people of Bhateswar themselves say that the *removal* of the *city from* the "*Purana Khera*" to its *present* position was caused by *a change in the course of the river*, which took place a very long time ago. By reference to any

large map of "*Bhateswar and its neighbourhood,*" it will be seen that the *river Jamna* makes a complete *turn* like a *loop,* westwards, round Bhateswar and its environs, the *open* part of the *loop* being towards the *east,* and the great *bend* or *curve* of the loop being towards the *west;* and that the Jamna *once flowed* close to the *back* or *north* side of the "*Purana Khera,*" at a distance of about *two miles from Bhateswar,* but nearly parallel to its present course. This I have *marked* in my *map-plan* as "*the old course of the river Jamna now dry.*" At the *east end* of this *old* course is situated the village of *Kalinjar* (*i. e., Kaliyan-jar*). In other words, the river Jamna forms a *bow,* of which the road from Bhateswar to Kalinjar may be described as the *string,* with Bhateswar at one end of it and Kalinjar at the other; and if an *arrow* were run through from the centre of the string across to the centre of the back of the bow, it would run through the "*Purana Khera*" and the "*Aundha Khera,*" and along the longer ancient bed of the river, now dry, which runs east and west. The *river,* then, at some time, *broke through* at right angles near a place which I have marked in my *map-plan* as the "*Pakka Bagh,*" and *between that* and the heights to the *right* or *east,* on the summit of which is situated a temple of "*Hanuman*" (as *marked* in my *plan*). The *river* then, no doubt, flowed for some time through this "*cross course,*" until it, at length, entirely *left* its *old bed* altogether, and *eventually* subsided into its *present course.* But *when* the river flowed in its *original* bed, two miles to the north of Bhateswar, the *first ancient city* would *necessarily also* be situated *there.* Then, when the river broke through its banks, and ran through by the "*cross course*" at right angles to the other, the city would very naturally be *removed* to the high ground of the "*Purana Khera,*" which borders on it and overhangs it; and, *at length,* when the river subsided into its *present* course, the city would *then* finally be removed to its *present* position.

There is, however, *another tradition* current among the people, which accounts in *another way* for the *removal* of the town *from* the heights of the "*Purana Khera*" to the lower ground, on the *present* bank of the river, where Bhateswar *now* is. It is said that about two hundred years ago the *Ahirs* made a *war of pillage* upon the town, which was then situated on the "*Purana Khera.*" There are *three* divisions of the *Ahir* race, the "*Gujars,*" the "*Mainas,*"

and the "*Gadhis*." Now, it was the *Gujars* that fell upon the town, with the intention to *sack* and *pillage* it. They destroyed the place, and after looting it, were with difficulty at length induced to retire, by a further present of some three thousand rupees from the zemindar or Raja of the place. The surviving inhabitants then *removed* the town down to where it now is.

In these *Ahir* names of "*Gujar*" and "*Gadh*," have we not the *real origin* of *Gujarashtra* or *Gujarat*, and also of the name of the ancient Raja "*Gaj*" or "*Gadhya*" of Gujarat?

We thus learn from the above that the *first* or *original ancient city*, which may have been called "*Surapura*" or by any other name, must, by the necessities consequent on the direction of the course of the river at the time, have been situated near the bank of the *old bed* of the river (now dry), which runs about two miles to the *north* of Bhateswar. Now, a place,—a high *tila* with traces of a fort,—was pointed out to me about three quarters of a mile to the north of the "*Aundha Khera*," on the bank of the *old* dry bed of the river; and this site is still called the "*Surajpur Garhi*." *This*, then, was the *fort* of the *first ancient city* of "*Surajpura*" (or "*Suryapura*") founded by *Surajséna*; and it probably *extended thence to* the "*Aundha Khera*," and *including it*, making thus *a city of about a mile and a half in length*, and *perhaps* the *same* in *breadth*. I had *not time* to make any *explorations* on the site of "*Surajpur Garhi*."*

If "*Surajpura*" or "*Suryapura*" had been founded by the *Suryasena*" of the *Pramara* dynasty of *Malwa* in the beginning of the *second* century of the Christian era, it could *not*, of course, have been a capital of the "*Suraséni*" in the time of Alexander the Great; *but* some *older* city, on nearly the same or a closely neighbouring site, may have been so. The kingdom of "*Methoras*" (or *Mathura*) belonged to the *Suraséni*. *Methoras* and *Klisobaras* (the "*Klisoboras*" of Pliny) are mentioned in the same breath and in the same connection by Arrian, and he says that *both* were situated

* I was, in fact, at *first almost deterred* from taking any *further notice* of it, from having been at *first* told by the country people that the place had formerly been inhabited by *Mewatis*; but I *afterwards* found out that the Mewatis had *simply* built a village on the *site* of the *old* "*Surajpur Garhi*." These Mewatis were, many years ago, *turned out* of the place altogether by a Raja of Bhatawar. Some *ancient remains*, such as *images* and some *jewelry*, were dug up there by some native cultivators about ten years ago. It was probably *here* that *Tod's coin* of *Appollodotus* was found.

on the Yamuna or Jamna. *Where*, then, was this ancient capital city of *Klisobaras?* Can it have been *Surajpur?*

(While writing of the "*Surasénas*" and their territory, I may mention that there is a place, or district called "*Surasani*," near Ujain, and that there is a tribe and district, called "*Surgi*," "*Surji*," or "*Suryi*," in the eastern part of Bandelkand; and also a place called "*Surajgarh*.)

I have already mentioned the village of Kalinjar (*i.e.*, Kaliyan-jar), two miles from Bhateswar, at the point where the Jamna formerly flowed from its original course. And it would be nothing out of the way to suppose that the original name of this place was probably *Kaliya-nagar* or *Kaliyan-jar*,* eventually corrupted into *Kalinjar*.

Being anxious, from what I had seen on the evening of the day previous, to proceed again to the "*Aundha Khera*," which lay at about a mile distant towards the north-west, on the other side of the valley across many intervening *khuds*, I did not remain longer at the "*Purana Khera*," but proceeded onwards to the "*Aundha Khera*," just as the sun was beginning to get hot in the forenoon.

I there took up my quarters in a small dilapidated serai, belonging to the most modern of the Jain temples, on the "*Aundha Khera*."

I must here beg to refer to the *map* of the *neighbourhood* of *Bhateswar* and the *plan* of the "*Aundha Khera*" which accompany this description. The "*Aundha Khera*" is situated about two miles to the north-west by north of Bhateswar, and is a raised plateau, or table-land, about 1,000 feet square, situated between the heads of ravines, or from the sides of which deep ravines branch off in all directions. That part of the "*Khera*" on which the Jain temples and the sites of more ancient temples and buildings are situated, is a bleak, rugged, and desolate spot, overgrown with low bushy jungle or scrub, and the nearest village is a long way off. I have already said that there are *three other secondary* tilas or mounds, distant from upwards of six to upwards of seven hundred feet from the Jain temples and the tila behind the temples. At the back, or east side of the first, and between the first and second of these other or secondary tilas, the acute-angled terminations of deep ravines run in from the east. A large and deep ravine, with

* Or, perhaps, even *Kali anjna pura?*
[*N. B.*—"*Anjna* was a name of the *reptilian mother* of *Hanuman*.]

many branches or offshoots, runs in from the south, along the whole of what is *now* the *back* or *west side* of the *Aundha Khera*, but *which may originally have been its centre!* I have no doubt that the formation of this *last* great ravine, by the agency or powerful action of water, during some great floods, or perhaps by a sudden bursting of the river, when very high, over its banks, possibly accompanied or aggravated by an earthquake, was the cause of the overthrow and destruction of many more ancient temples and buildings, of which every trace is now gone, and from which circumstance the place was called the "*Aundha Khera*" or "*overturned city.*" Another ravine runs in from the north. On the high ground, in the midst of the terminations, or *culs de sac*, of these tremendous ravines, and surrounded by ravines on all sides, is situated the *Aundha Khera*, or what remains of it. The more *recent*, or *modern* Jain temples, still standing, are situated rather well forward, from the great ravine which runs at the back or west side; caution, learned from the bitter experience of former catastrophies, having no doubt taught the Srangis to choose safer sites, as *far* from the brink of the ravines as the limited space would permit. While the sites of the more ancient, destroyed temples, or of other ancient buildings, are situated further *back westwards on the very brink of the ravines*, nay it is probable that some of the old sites no longer exist, but have fallen *into* the ravines (as, indeed, my discoveries there afterwards proved).

With regard to the *agencies, if other than physical*, which caused the ruin and destruction of the other older buildings which stood on this ancient site, I may mention that there is a tradition among the people of the neighbourhood to the effect that a certain Rani or Princess in ancient times passing that way, asked what these buildings were, and that on being told that they belonged to "*Srangis*" or *Jains*, she ordered them to be overthrown. I am inclined to think that this tradition *really* points to an act of persecution of the remnant of a *Buddhist* establishment at this place, by some invading race of Rajas who supported the rise of the Brahmanical creed against expiring Buddhism.

Coming up the ravines from Bhateswar, the *first* of the *present* temples which meets the eye, on the *south* side of the area, is a small square-domed temple, empty and in a ruinous state. A little to the left, or south-west of this, is

a small earthwork, a square strench with a small mound of earth in the centre, the site of a destroyed temple of small size. I should here remark that I was told by the Natives of the district, that the people of the surrounding villages have for years past been digging up and taking away the large bricks from the sites of the *ancient* temples. About 36 feet to the north, from the abovementioned site of a former small temple, there is a Jain temple of comparatively recent date, consisting of a raised square, platform, 76 feet square, on the centre and four corners of which there are altogether five shrines, surmounted by cupolas,—the centre shrine being the largest, and the corner ones being very small. In each of these shrines, except one, there is the representation of a *pair of feet,* surrounded by an inscription on a horizontal slab of stone. The dates read by me on three of these inscriptions were all "*Samvat* 1849"=A. D. 1712. On the north side of the central shrine I found an erect, naked image sunk in the ground to the waist. The head broken off. This image was evidently of much *greater age* than the temple. The temple above described is of course one of comparatively recent origin; but it is necessary to mention *first* the more recent and modern temples, still a small earth-work,—a square trench,—with a small mound of earth in the centre,—the site of a destroyed temple of a small size. I should here remark that I was told by the natives of the district that the people of the surrounding villages have for years past been digging up and taking away the large bricks from the sites of the *ancient* temples. About 36 feet to the north from the above-mentioned site of a former small temple, there is a Jain temple of comparatively recent date, consisting of a raised square platform, 76 feet square, on the centre and four corners of which there are altogether five shrines, surmounted by cupolas, the central *still* standing. *Before* proceeding to a description of the razed sites of the more *ancient* destroyed temples attached to the south-west corner of this temple, there is a long building with open arches on all sides, which appeared to me to be of much greater age than the temple. Its dimensions are 47 feet in length by 14 feet 3 inches in breadth. It may probably have served as a place of shelter for worshippers to sit under. At the bottom of a pit in the ground, under the east end of this building, I found an image lying half buried. It was a figure in a sitting position of

contemplation under a canopy, with smaller attendant figures on each side, and an elephant on each side at top above the latter. There was no inscription on it, the front portion of the pedestal having been broken away. The height of the image was about 2 feet. The stone grey or darkish coloured; apparently a kind of calciferous sandstone. About twenty yards to the east, and in front of the temple, there is a detached building, a very old and ruinous serai of a long narrow shape, about 50 feet in length. Lastly, 8 feet to the west side, or back of the temple above described, leaving thus a narrow passage between, there is a raised platform 57 feet by 48 feet, which is nearly level with the ground at the front or north side, but being built on a slope or incline, or on the side of a declivity, it rises so high above the ground at the back or south side that there is a vaulted chamber underneath, which is entered from the low ground behind. On the southern half of this platform there stands a long-shaped building 57 feet by 15 feet, entered by two arched doorways in front (north side), and having an apse or recess in the centre of the back wall. In a small chamber or compartment at the north end of this building, a stone was found built into the wall on which there was an inscription. I took an impression of this inscription, but it is so indistinct from the stone being worn and defaced that I have not as yet been able to read any part of it. It, however, appears to be *old*. *Underneath* this building there is a *lower* storey, or basement floor, consisting of a long-shaped vaulted chamber of similar dimensions (before referred to), which is entered by open archways from the low ground at the back. In the floor of this low vaulted chamber at the back, I found three large heavy images buried up to the necks in the earth. They were in a sitting position of contemplation. Two of these images were in a state of pretty good preservation; the third had lost its head. Having dug the images out, I found *inscriptions* on the pedestal of the largest, and in that of the one which had lost its head; but only the inscription on the largest image was at all decipherable, and on this I read the date (somewhat defaced) as "*Samvat* 1084," or "1094" (equal to A. D. 1027 or 1037). I took an *impression* of this inscription. This inscription was divided in half by the figure of a *bull*, which is the symbol of "*Adinath*," the first Jain Hierarch. The *other* inscription on the headless image was too much

defaced to make anything of. I would here beg to premise that *these* images (as may be inferred from the date of the 11th century) being of *middle* age, are therefore of much more recent date than the antiquities which I *afterwards* found buried in the *sites* of the *more ancient destroyed* temples beyond and in the bottom of the *ravine* at the back. It is a matter of doubt, however, as to whether the "*Samvat*" used or indicated in some of these Jain inscriptions is the Jain æra of the "*Virata Samvat*," or the Brahmanical æra of the "*Vikramaditya Samvat*." If it be the "*Virata Samvat*" that may in some *few* cases be meant to be indicated, then the oldest of these inscriptions might be *four* or *six hundred years older* than they would otherwise be. There is said to be a *sealed vault deep under the floor* of this place, *full* of *ancient images* and *other* remains!*

About 20 feet to the north of the building last mentioned and on lower ground, there is a low square-shaped earth-work, consisting of a ditch running round a square of about 60 feet each side, within which there are the remains of the foundation of a wall running round a square of 44 feet each side, and within this, a square hollow or depression, which may either have been a tank or else a building *dug out*.

Again, 55 feet to the north of this, there is a *modern* Jain temple (the only one ever *now* used or frequented) with a serai and court attached. The temple is a small square-domed building built on the centre of a high platform, about 53 feet by 50 feet. Attached to the south side of this there is a serai with court or enclosure in front, 42 feet 7 inches × 56 × 45 feet. This temple contains a flat slab of stone with representation of feet.

At a distance of 92 feet from the last named temple towards the south-west, there is *another* Jain temple of *older* date. This is situated in a *central* position, but much *further back* and on much *higher ground* than the *others*; it being built on the *site* of a much more ancient temple, and on the north-eastern slope of the *ancient tila*, which rises at the back of the temples. This temple, like the others, is situated on a raised platform, which measured 70 feet in length from east to west, and 39 or 40 feet in breadth from north to south. The temple is situated towards the back, or on

* I tried to dig down through the floor into this subterranean place; but I found the *masonry*, or rather the *cement*, so tough and hard that I had to *give up*.

the west side of this platform, and there is a small square shrine on each of the front or east corners. East and west are evidently the points of the compass observed by the Jains, and the back of their temples is always towards the west. I found this temple to be 15 feet 5 inches square. In this temple I found a large image in a sitting posture; and on the pedestal of it, there was an inscription in which I read the date as *Samvat* 1613, or A. D. 1556. In the centre of the inscription there was the figure of a *Sankh* or conch shell, the symbol of *Neminatha*. At some height above the image there was a stone with an inscription let into the wall, in which I read the date as *Samvat* 1826=A. D. 1796. This is therefore a temple of comparatively recent origin, or middle aged, but built on the site of much older ones. That this *is* the *case* I found to be *proved* by the fact that about 9 feet 6 inches within the south-eastern corner of the platform of this temple, on the east side and *touching it*, the remains of the foundation of an ancient wall commences, running for 22 feet in an easterly direction, and then turning at an angle and running for 72 feet in a northerly direction, until it meets a long narrow trench running again from east to west, which also is evidently the remains of the foundation of an ancient wall, the materials of which have at some time been dug out and removed. Near to the east of the remains of the foundation of the wall before mentioned, which runs for 72 feet north and south, I found a trench with a deep hole or small pit in the ground beside it, which ended in a low arch of brickwork, now filled up with earth, and which may perhaps have led to some subterranean passage (as I found to be the case in *another place*, which will presently be described). At the bottom of a slope, and near the edge of the end of a ravine, about 40 feet to the north of the northern termination of the remains of the wall and the trench above mentioned, I found a large image lying exposed on its back on the ground. It measured in its present state (having lost the lower part of the legs) 4 feet 2 inches in length; but when perfect must have been about 5 feet. There is a chakra, or disc of glory, at the back of the head, which is crowned with a jewelled cylindrical crown. The hair is in ringlets. The ears long and slit. The *jeneu*, or Brahmanical thread, passes over the left shoulder. A wreath passes round from the back of the shoulders over the arms,

which are *four*, broken off at the elbows, but a portion of the remainder of the wreath plainly appears passing over the front of the legs where they are broken off The lower part of the body, from the waist downwards, and what remains of the legs, are clothed in a garment resembling *jangias* (short drawers), or tights, which is tied at the waist by a cord A kind of sash hangs loosely round the loins, and is tied in a loose single knot on the left side I consider this to be an image of *Vishnu* It is in greyish sandstone This image is undoubtedly *very ancient* I brought it with me to Agra

Twenty feet to the south of the temple last mentioned, but extending much further backwards is situated the most important site of all, namely, a high square shaped earth-work with sloping sides, measuring exteriorly 97 feet by 95 feet It consists of an outer trench, then a sloping bank, and then a broader and deeper trench, which runs round a high central square platform of earth, which overtops the whole There is no doubt that this is the site of an ancient temple, one of those to which the numerous fragments of images belonged, which I found either buried or scattered about, and no doubt many similar sites have been swallowed up in the yawning gulph of the deep ravine which runs at the back of it and which is every year falling in more and more, and eating away the ground around it Close at the back of this earth work (on the west), and (if I remember right) *within* the first trench, I came suddenly upon a very deep long shaped pit from 10 to 12 feet in depth, about 20 feet in length, and about 8 feet in breadth, which I descended and found at one side of its northern end (which is the deepest), a low brickarch under which there appeared to be a subterranean passage passing under the earth work above mentioned, but the passage was so much filled up with earth which had fallen in, or been carried in by water during the rains that I was unable to explore it This will, therefore, be an interesting object for future excavations and, I have no doubt, will yield a rich harvest of ancient remains of some kind From the southern side of the outer trench of the high earth-work above mentioned, there runs another trench at right angles for 66 feet southwards, until it meets another trench running from the west, eastwards, and running hence for 77 feet, until it reaches a low square shaped earth work (a square trench with a low mound of earth in

the middle) 27 feet square, from which another trench runs at right angles for about 50 feet northwards, terminating in the remains of the foundation of an old wall. Again, from the north-western corner of the outer trench of the high earth-work abovementioned, there runs a trench at right angles westwards for about 25 feet, and which then joins another longer broken trench, which runs again at right angles north and south along the very brink of the *khud* or ravine for upwards of 150 feet, terminating, at its northern extremity, in the remains of an old *wall*, 5 *feet* 8 *inches in thickness*, which actually hangs over the perpendicular side of the ravine. In the shorter trench abovementioned, which runs westwards from the high earth-work towards the ravine, and at a spot which is within a very short distance of the brink of the precipitous side of the ravine, I saw the corner of a stone sticking out of the ground. I therefore set some coolies to work to dig here. The result was, that in a short time they dug out the head of a large image and a beautiful figure of a woman carrying a child on her left arm. These two antiquities were brought to Agra; and they will be found more fully described in the "*list*" of remains discovered at the "*Aundha Khera*" which accompanies this report.

A few yards distant (northwards) from the former, and at the very brink of the ravine, I discovered the corner of another stone protruding a few inches out of the ground. I therefore again set the coolies to dig here, and they presently exhumed a large quadruple or four-figure image, or four erect naked human figures standing back to back, similar to two which were discovered at Mathura. Height 2 feet 3 inches. Stone, a yellowish-white sandstone. The exact spots at which this and the preceding images were found are *marked* in the *plan* which accompanies this report. I brought this image with me to Agra.

Having thus found remains so near the brink of the ravine, and also having (as before mentioned) found the remains of an ancient wall actually projecting over the perpendicular side of the ravine, I thought it advisable at once to go down and examine the *bottom* of the ravine itself. I did so, and in going down, I found numerous fragments of ancient bricks of large size scattered along its sides; and both along the sides of the ravine and at the bottom I picked up several fragments of images and small fragments

of carved stone. Presently, however, in a hollow place at the bottom of the ravine, I observed the corner of a large stone sticking up out of the ground. I therefore again set the coolies to work here, and in a short time exhumed two large stones convexly curved in front, 2 feet 1½ inches in height by 2 feet 3 inches in breadth; thickness in the middle 9 inches. These stones were covered with carving, *i.e.*, small sitting figures, carved in relief, representing either Buddha or some Jain divinities, and must evidently once have formed portions of a building. There were seventeen figures on each stone. I also dug up here another figure of a *woman* (smaller than the one before described) carrying a child on her left arm. The two large stones and the small image I brought with me to Agra.

In another part of the bottom of the same ravi le (further southwards) I dug out a large image in a sitting posture, which had lost its head and arms.

I picked up numerous other fragments, of which those worthy of notice will be found described in the *list* which follows.

In a narrow angle or *cul de sac* of the ravine towards the north, I found a mass of brickwork *in situ*. The bricks which composed it were of very large size, measuring, when entire, about 1 foot 3 inches in length, 1 foot in breadth, and 3 inches in thickness. The spot where these bricks were found is marked in the plan.

When about to return to Agra, I found it would be impossible to get the stone remains which I dug up at the "*Aundha Khera*" conveyed out of the ravines across the river to the railway station of Shekohabad; but that they might be got out to the road which led to Agra on the Bhateswar side of the river. I also found that I could get no means of conveyance for myself at Bhateswar to take me either to Shekohabad or to Agra by the road. I therefore sent two of my attendants to Shekohabad to go by railway to Agra; while I had the heaviest of the stone remains placed on the *only* three small carts which could be found at Bhateswar, and the remainder on three bullocks; and I and two of my servants walked the whole way with them, by way of Fatehabad, to within about eight miles of Agra (a distance of nearly 40 *miles*), where I at last got a conveyance just to take me into Agra, and no more.

List of remains discovered at the "Aundha Khera," *near Bhateswar, by A C L Carlleyle, Assistant, Archæological Survey of India,— April* 1871

PART No I

List of images and fragments brought from the "Aundha Khera" *near Bhateswar*, to Agra

1 A nearly full-sized erect image, probably of Vishnu, the lower half of the legs and the lower half of the arms (which are four) are wanting Head crowned with a cylindrical shaped jewelled crown, there is a chakra, or disc of glory, at the back of the head The hair is in ringlets on each side of the back of the head Ears long and slit The "*jeneu*," or Brahmanical thread, passes over the left shoulder A wreath passes round from the back of the shoulders over the arms (which are four) just above where they are broken off at the elbows, and a portion of the continuation of the same wreath plainly appears again passing over the front of the legs, where they are broken off The lower part of the body from the waist downwards, and what remains of the legs, are clothed in a garment resembling "*jangias*" (or short drawers), which is tied at the waist by a cord. A kind of sash hangs loosely round the loins, and is tied in a loose single knot on the left side Present height, including the chakra behind the head, 4 feet 2 inches Height from top of crown to knees (at which point the legs are broken off) 3 feet 7 inches The entire height of the image, when perfect, would probably be about 5 feet, or with the chakra at back of head, about 5 feet 6 or 7 inches Stone, a greyish sandstone. This image is undoubtedly very ancient It was found lying exposed on a slope near the head of a ravine (By the manner in which a portion of the stone was ground down, the country people would appear to have been using it as a whetstone, and sharpening their koorpies on it for years)

2 A *chau-mukni*, or quadruple image, or four erect naked images placed back to back The remains or stump of a slender pillar rises from *between* and *above* the four heads. Three of the heads have chakras (or glories) behind them, but the fourth has a shell-shaped canopy Height 2 feet 3 inches Stone, yellowish sandstone This image was dug up at the site of the great *tila* or mound at the

back of the temples near the summit, or upper edge of a khud or ravine, which lies at the back of the tila.

3. Two large stones *convexly curved in front* (⅓rd of a circle); flat at back, top, and bottom; covered with three rows of sitting figures of Buddha (or of some Jain divinity?) carved in relief. *Seventeen* figures on each stone. Height of each stone 2 feet 1¼ inches. Breadth in front 2 feet 11 inches. Breadth at back 2 feet 3 inches. Thickness in the middle 9 inches. Stone, grey calciferous sandstone. These stones were dug up at the bottom of a khud or ravine at the back of the "*Aundha Khera.*"

3*a*. Five small fragments of two other carved stones, similar to the above, one of which must have been of larger size.

4. A full-sized head, with remains of chakra at back. Hair in *straight* lines drawn up and forming a round knob on top of head. Dug up in a trench.

5. A beautiful erect figure of a woman, with full breasts. Hair or head-dress raised into a very high oval conical shaped pile (something like a grenadier's *bear-skin*), but somewhat flattened in and jewelled in *front* (somewhat after the Buddhist fashion). Jewels round neck, waist, arms, and thighs. Legs broken off about the knees. The *sun* with rays is behind the woman's head. On her left arm she carries a child, which places *its* left arm over her shoulder and its right hand against her breast. The right hand of the *woman* is raised, as if in admonition; the fore-finger, thumb, and little finger are raised erect, while the two middle fingers are closed down on the palm. Along the left margin of the stone, are the remains of a number of small attendant figures, one sitting figure, a dancing figure, an erect figure, with a head like a wolf, hyæna, or griffin, and an elephant. Present height of image of woman 1 foot 7½ inches. Original height, when perfect, probably 2 feet. Stone, yellowish-white sandstone. Dug up in a trench.

6. Another figure of a woman in a half sitting posture with her hair dressed at back of top of head in a chignon-like pile. She carries a child on her left thigh, supported by her left arm. Height 1 foot 4 inches. Stone, whitish sandstone.

7. A beautiful small figure of a woman in relief, of whom the body down to the waist is that of a woman, and the lower part of the body that of a snake, which appears to wind in

coils all over the stone (although part of it is broken away). The woman's hands are placed *together* in front, as if in prayer or adoration. She looks up, and her hair is in long ringlets. I consider this to be a representation of a female *Naga*, in an attitude of worship.

8. A small figure of a woman, as if in the attitude of flying (but with *no* wings). Her right leg is turned *inwards* under her, while her left leg is turned *outwards* and *upwards*, the foot being turned upwards as high as her shoulders. On her left arm she carries a child, which has a glory at the back of its head. The woman's head is much broken away. Stone, whitish sandstone. This image was dug up at the *bottom* of a *khud*.

9. A beautiful little figure of a woman in a position as if flying, with the left leg *turned upwards*. She holds a *lotus* flower by the stalk in her *left* hand. Her *right* hand is raised. (In grey sandstone.)

10. Another figure exactly the same as the *last* No. 9, but *much defaced*. In red sandstone.

11. A fragment of a *Buddhist chakra*, in red sandstone. On it there are the remains of two human figures in relief. One of these figures, of which the head and part of the shoulders only remain, wears the usual characteristic *Buddhist head-dress*, which cannot be mistaken. He rests his left hand on a *crutch-shaped* club, or mace. The head or handle of the club is shaped in the device of a lion. A large club, or pillar, appears to the right side of the figure.

12. A head of a Nag, or hooded snake, in whitish sandstone.

13. The head and neck of a nondescript animal, with a mane. It may be intended for the head either of a dragon, a griffin, a wolf, or a hyæna. White sandstone.

14. A human *hand* holding a Buddhist chakra, by a *band* which proceeds out of the centre of the chakra. (Sandstone).

15. A head of either Buddhist or a Jain image, with hair in the usual small round knob-like curls. Yellowish sandstone.

16. A small elephant in yellowish-white sandstone. The head and legs broken off.

17. A stone with four small images in relief; much defaced.

18 The lower half of the erect figure of a woman with a jewelled sash, with pendants, round the waist and hips.

19 The abdomen of a human figure in white sandstone A "*jeneu*," or Brahmanical thread, formed of a *snake*, and terminating in a *snake's* head, passes round it over the front of the belly, where the snake's head and tail are knotted together This may have belonged to an image of the mother of *Parswanath*, from the legend of a snake connected with his mother *Barmarani*, and Parswanath's name is derived from *Parswa*, the side round which the snake was entwined *Parswanath* is also sometimes represented with the serpents *Dharinadhara* and *Padmavati* entwined around him

20 The shoulder, arm, and hands of a large image in red sandstone This image had apparently been covered with *white plaster*, some of which is still sticking to the red stone

21 A *very small* defaced sitting figure, in *relief*, of *Buddha teaching*, with right hand raised

22 Two carved *canopies* of *Jain* images (one in some kind of dark coloured calciferous sandstone, and the other in yellowish white sandstone)

Numerous other small fragments of carved stone of less importance, which need not be described here, but amounting to about twenty pieces more

Three specimens of the very large sized ancient flat bricks which were used in the construction of the ancient temples, now destroyed to which the above images and other remains belonged Some of these bricks, when whole, must have measured 1 foot 3 inches in length by 1 foot in breadth and 3 inches in thickness

PART No II

Images (of a more recent period or of middle age) dug up at the Aundha Khera near Bhateswar but left there and not brought to Agra

1 An erect naked image, head broken off, height about 3 feet, found buried to the waist in the enclosure of a Jain temple

2 A sitting Jain image under a canopy with numerous attendant figures front part of pedestal broken away, found at the bottom of a pit, height about 2 feet, in some kind of dark coloured calciferous sandstone

3 Three large heavy sitting Jain images found buried to the necks in the floor of a vault On the pedestals of *two* of the images there were *inscriptions*, *one* of these inscriptions was too much *defaced* to make anything out of it

In the *other* inscription I could read the date as *Samvat* 1084 or 1094. There was the figure of a bull in the centre of the inscription, which is the symbol of *Adinatha*.

4. A large sitting image without a head, and much defaced, found buried at the bottom of a khud; height of the image about 2 feet 6 inches.

POSTSCRIPT.

Supposing the foundation of *Surapura* or *Surajpur* to have been of *more ancient* date than the king called *Suryasena* of the *Pramara* dynasty of *Malwa*, I would be inclined to *agree* with General Cunningham in an opinion *since* expressed by him that *Surapura* was founded *not* by *Sura*, the grandfather of Krishna, *but* by *Surasena*, the son of *Satrughna* and the nephew of *Rama*, as *he* is *recorded* to have been an *actual sovereign* of the *kingdom* of *Mathura*, and is said to have given his name to the *Surasena* of the *Mahabharat*, the Indian tribe, or nation, called *Surasenoi*, of Arrian. There was, however, a *Sursena* (son of *Ugarsena* and father of *Sutasshama*) of the *Pandu* line of *Indraprastha*, according to the *Rajavali*.

Some may object that the name *Surapura* is, for philological reasons, more likely to have been derived from *Sura* than from *Surasena;* but the real fact of the matter is that the *old* name of Bhateswar is *not Surapura*, but *Suraipur*, which, in its correct Sanskrit form, would be *Suryapura*. *Surapura* is *only Tod's* version of the name given on mere hearsay.

The nephew of Rama is called *Surasena*, but no doubt the correct orthography of the name would be *Suryasena*, which, in modern phraseology, would become *Surajsen* or *Surajsein*. Now, all the more intelligent of the inhabitants of Bhateswar, who knew anything at all about the history of the place, agreed in stating that *Surajsen* was the founder of Bhateswar, that is, of *old* Bhateswar or *Surajpur;* and they also equally agreed as to the fact that the ancient Hindu name of Bhateswar was *Surajpur* (and by which name, they said, it was *still* known to the Jains), while,

N. B.—There were two images with inscriptions, and five representations of feet with inscriptions in three of the *more modern* Jain temples now standing at the *Aandha Khera;* but they need not be described here, as they belong to a much more *recent* period than the other remains above described; and because they have already been described (with dates) in the body of my report.

on the other hand, they utterly *ignored* the existence of *any* place under the name of *Surapura.*

It may, therefore, be received as an undoubted fact that the ancient name of Bhateswar was *Surajpur* or *Suryapura,* and that it was founded by a chief, or king, named *Surajsen,* or *Suryasena.* There is *another fact* which makes it *impossible* that *Surajpur* could have been founded by *Sura,* the grandfather of Krishna. *Sura,* the grandfather of Krishna, was of the *Lunar* race, whereas *Surajsena,* the founder of *Surajpur,* was of the *Solar* race, as the Rajas of Bhatawar, the *descendants* of *Surajsen,* are of the *Solar* race.

Since writing the above report, I have also learnt that General Cunningham had conjecturally identified Pliny's *Clisoboras* with *Vrindávana* (or *Brindaban*) as the scene of Krishna's encounter with the famous *serpent Káliyá,* from which he supposes the name to be derived; and of which he mentions other various readings, as *Calisoborca,* &c. In this, I think, he is right; and that, while he has, as it were, got hold of the serpent's head at *Vrindávana,* I have got hold of the monster's tail at *Kálinjár.* For Kálinjár is no doubt a corruption of *Káliyán-jar,* which might signify the *root,* or *tail-end* of *Káliyá*: and *Káliyániara* would signify the *demon Káliyá.*

Now, *Kál* is a name, or title, or synonym, of *Yama,* or *Jam,* the regent, or divine judge of the dead. And *Kál* is also a shorter form of the name of the great serpent, otherwise called *Káliyá.* The river *Yamana,* or Jamna, takes its name from the divinity *Yama,* and as *Kál* is also a name of *Yama,* of which the feminine would be *Káli,* or *Káliyá,* so, in like manner, the Jamna, in the feminine gender, might be called *Káláná, Káliná,* or *Káliyáná.* Now, *Káli-dah* is actually the name of a deep *pool,* or *whirlpool,* in the river Jamna, in which the serpent Káliyá is supposed to have lived.

Again, with regard to the *Clisoboras* or *Clisoborca* of Pliny and Arrian, I think it may be derived from some term having the same signification as the *Káli-dah* above-mentioned. For *Káliyá-sarovar* would signify—the pool of *Káliyá* —*Bor* also, in Hindi, means deep; and if one might be allowed to combine Hindi and Sanskrit, *Kaliyasa-bora* might signify the deep place of *Káliyá. Bhanwarra* or *Chaunra,* (with the nasal anuswara *n,* pronounced as *Chanwára),* a Hindi word derived from the Sanskrit, means a *chasm,* an *abyss,* or a *whirlpool.* Hence *Kaliyasa Chanwára*

would signify—the *abyss*, or *whirlpool* of *Káliyá*. Lastly, in Hindi, *bur* or *bor* means a *dive*, *burna* to dive, *borna* to cause to dive, *buriya* a diver, and *bur-marna* to be drowned, or literally, to die by diving. Hence, again *Kaliyasa-bora* might signify the place of diving of *Káliyá*.

In conclusion, I may remark that I think it is very possible that the small figure of a woman, with the lower part of the body terminating in that of a snake, and with her hands joined in an attitude of supplication, which I found at the *Aundha Khera*, near Bhateswar, may be a representation of *Padmani*, the attendant of Káliyá, in an attitude of adoration, and may possibly originally have been attached to some image of Krishna; and it may have been a symbol of an ancient city called *Káliyán-jar*, situated on the Jamna, at the supposed root or tail-end of Káliyá, and near where Kálinjár and Bhateswar now are !—

With regard to other traditions as to the origin of the name of Bhateswar, I have heard that in ancient times there was a famous *Bar* tree, which in Sanskrit is called "*Bat*," under which a Hindu ascetic or holy man resided; and that there he raised a shrine to Shiva or Mahadeva, from which circumstance the divinity thus locally appropriated as the tutelary divinity of the place was called "*Bat-iswar*," and that this ancient shrine stood on or near the spot where the great temple of *Bhat-iswar Nath* now stands, on the Bisrat, on the bank of the river at Bhateswar. Thus, Bhateswar may have had much the same origin as Prag, or Allahabad.

Next, with regard to the origin of the Rajas of *Bhadawar*.—As I have stated in my report, the people of Bhateswar told me that the Rajas of Bhadawar were of the *Surya-vansa* or Solar race, and that they were descended from Surajsein, the founder of Surajpur, in which case they would properly stand at the head of the whole *Solar* race,* much in the same manner as the Rajas of Khiraoli claim to stand at the head of the *Lunar* race. But I have since seen a copy of the *genealogy* of the Rajas of Bhadawar obtained

* When I said in a previous portion of my report devoted to Bhateswar and Surajpur, that, according to what I had been told on the spot, the Rajas of Bhadawar would consequently "stand in the place of honour at the head of the whole Kshatriya race," I meant to say, and should have said instead,—*at the head of the Solar line of the Kshatriya race*. But if, as their own family history would seem to prove, they are a minor branch or offshoot of the Chohans, who belong to the *Agni-vansa* or *Agni-kula* race, then, of course, all the talk of the Bhateswar people about the Rajas of Bhadawar being descended from Surajsein is simply *stuff and nonsense*.

from their Vakil at Agra; and from that it would appear that they are *not* of the Solar race at all, but of the *Agni-kula* or *Agni-vansa* race, and that they are descended from the Chohan clan, or dynasty, or, in other words, that they are but a minor offshoot from a branch of the Chohans, and are thus inferior in dignity to the Rajas of Kota and Bundi. But there is one thing extraordinary about the genealogy of the Rajas of Bhadawar, namely, that in the whole of their genealogy, I did not find one single name which agreed with any of the names in the usually accepted lists of the Chohan line. These documents also stated that they were created Rajas of Bhadawar by Nasir-ud-din Ghori in consideration of some services which they had rendered him. But Elliot, in the Appendix to his History of India, whether rightly or wrongly, says that they were little more than robber chiefs, and that they only became Rajas of Bhadawar at a very much later period.

A. C. L. CARLLEYLE,

Assistant, Archæological Survey of India.

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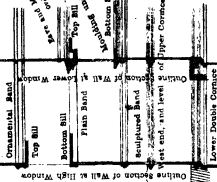
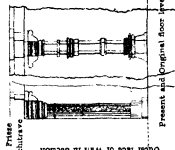
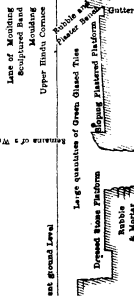
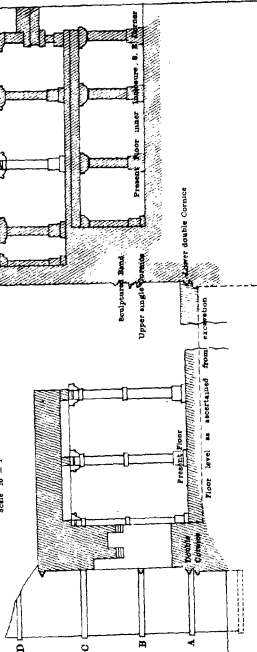
Plate II
PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF
TRENCHES IN FORT WALLS
at E and F of Plate 1
Scale 0 1
SECTION ON G H
a tile projects
SECTION ON A B
Dressed
Stone
Rubble
Brick
Rubble
Crest of slope
Toe of slope
Brick
Rubble
SECTION ON E F
Dressed Stone
SECTION ON C D
Brick
Edge of trench
a plastered Platform like a grave
SECTION ON S T
SECTION ON P Q

PLANS, ELEVATIONS and SECTIONS OF WALLS, PILLARS and WINDOWS
IN WEST WALL AND MASJID
KUTB-UL-ISLAM

J. Beglar, del.

J. D. Beglar, del.

Plate V.

J D. Beglar, del.

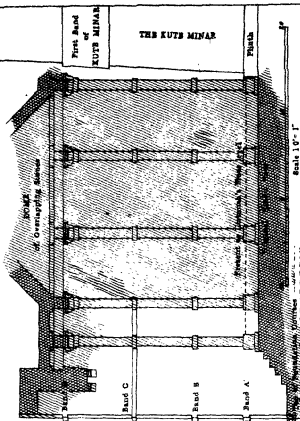
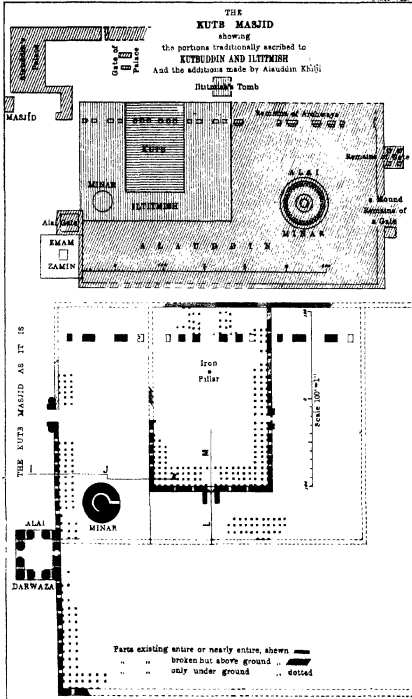
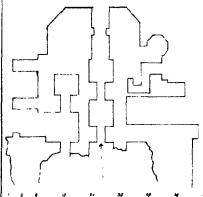
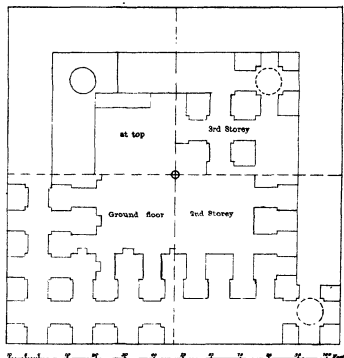
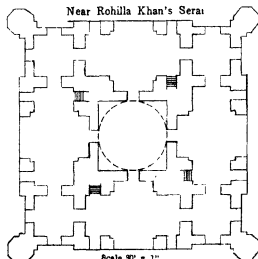
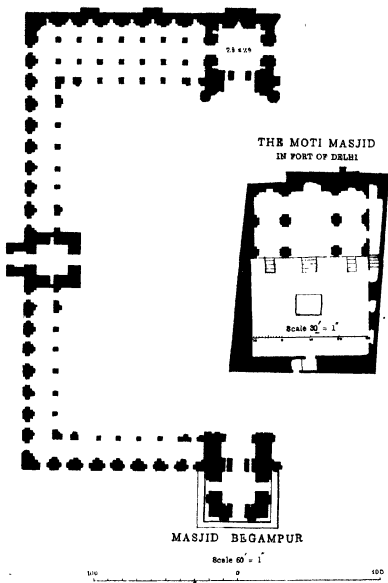
Plate VI

J. D. Beglar, del.

J. D. Beglar. del.

J. D. Beglar, del.

J. D. Beglar, del.

J. D. Beglar, del

BÂRADARI
OF
SIKANDAR LUDI
A. D. 1500
afterwards the Tomb of
MARIAM BEGAM
The Christian Wife of Akbar.

144 Feet square

J. D. Beglar, del

J. D. Beglar, del.

J. D. Beglar, del

J. D. Begler, del

J. D. Beglar, del.

J. D. Beglar, del.

J. D. Beglar, del.